

Recd, 5 Jan

# The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1854.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

## News of the Week.

**PARLIAMENT** has not, as yet, become of any public benefit: for it submits to being treated by the Government—which it ought to dictate to—as a constitutional formality not entitled to interrupt the course of the rule of England by Downing-street. But Parliament may improve in time.

Ministers have not been happy. They have shown no confidence in Parliament; and Parliament may begin to return the compliment. The defence of ministerial failures made by the two friends and co-Ministers of War, the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Sidney Herbert, were complete in one sense: they proved earnestness of purpose, great desire to do well, and more success in what was attempted than the public have been inclined to suppose. The Duke of Newcastle, copiously precise on all the minute facts of his administration, satisfied his hearers that he was a very high-minded man, and a very good man of business. Mr. Sidney Herbert, a great favourite with the House of Commons, and with his class, charmed his audience by a graceful confession of faults, and by an obvious anxiety to win approval for all that he had done, and by his genuine eloquence in speaking of the army of which he had sought to make himself worthy. But neither of these Ministers dealt with the general question of the policy pursued during the last twelve months, and, in fact, none of the Ministers attempt a vindication of the half-and-half measures which have been the consequence of a Cabinet without a chief—of a Cabinet divided against itself. What Lord Aberdeen said on Tuesday in reference to the Austrian alliance amounted to nothing: it was a statement, and a negative statement, not a defence, and not an explanation. What Lord John Russell said on the same evening, would be important coming from any other Minister, but it is of little account as coming from Lord John Russell, who has punctually commenced this Session with one of his habitual displays of utter senility, his declaration about the insignificance of the Austrian alliance having compromised his colleagues, astonished France, and disgusted Vienna. The Opposition made a vigorous attempt to force the Government into the humiliation of being frank with the country. But the Opposition failed for two reasons: in the first place, because the Opposition was confined to mere talk, and was made up of talkers of antagonistic intent—for where is the bond between Mr. Layard and a Colonel Dunne?—and in the next place because the talk was of a petty character, personal in allusion, spiteful in purpose, and was confined to criticisms on the past. Lord Derby said nothing which the newspapers have not said: he had no new facts, no new news; and his best point was in the established sneer, that Lord Aberdeen prefers the Orleans to the Napoleon

family. Lord Derby is always small in statesmanship: his speech on Tuesday was contemptible. In the other House, Mr. Disraeli was not more successful. Certainly he was very dull—spoke wearisomely and wearied. Like his chief, he seems to have passed the recess in accumulating newspaper paragraphs,—like his chief, he talked his common-places with the utmost coolness, as if it were even fresh common-places,—and, like his chief, he so far failed that, competing with the members of the Coalition for the lead of the country, he objected to their policy without producing a policy of his own. It is true he objected to an Austrian alliance before he had been informed of the terms of it, but this was a trick of debate to catch Liberal cheers, and possible Liberal votes; and it was a trick, suggested by the unmodified Eastern intellect of Mr. Disraeli, unsuited to our political climate, every one knowing well that if Mr. Disraeli were in power he would accept this Austrian alliance. The speech of Mr. Layard was marked by great fullness of knowledge, and some positive propositions, as in his reference to the inevitableness of a campaign in Asia, and doubtless it will be read "out of doors" with more deference than it obtained in the House.—Mr. Layard not taking the trouble to study House of Commons' elocution, and being too eager to lecture when he addresses that assembly. Lord Grey was cold and brief, but he said enough to sustain his position as the most statesmanlike man of his class. This was the Opposition; for Lord Clanricarde was not present—which is a surprising fact, only to be explained on the assumption that the Czar's present to him of Lord Dunkellin has assuaged the vindictiveness of a veteran diplomatist who, had he been War Minister, would have charged Russia like a true Irish Peer, much after the fashion of Lord Lucan at Balaklava. He appeared last night, but it was very Russian work his abuse of Austria.

Parliament has met to deal with two bills: both of which have been promptly introduced. The Militia Bill is safe. The Enlistment of Foreigners Bill is not safe. The tone taken by Lord Ellenborough in regard to it has been generally echoed. Even granting that the principle on which the Government is proceeding in the matter were a sound one, we should be disposed to suspect their statesmanship, from the circumstance that their plan is on so small a scale. Lord Aberdeen, melancholy and morose, complained at the interruption the measure had met with; for, asked his lordship, why do you tell us to conduct the war with vigour, and then oppose our vigorous bills? The bill may be objected to precisely because it is not a vigorous bill. The Queen's Speech alludes to a "great war," and the Ministers face the great war with a Foreign Legion of 15,000 men. Here we recognise, with dismay, the same small conception to which may be attributed the disastrous victories,

and the long siege, of the Crimea. Lord Derby says the maxim of the Government is "too late;" but, on the other hand, it is always too little. The debate in the Lords last night damaged the bill, and the narrow majority with which they escaped a defeat in this first week recalls to the Government the catastrophes of last Sessions, and warns them to be careful.

On its general policy, foreign and home, the Government is secretive. A variety of questions have been asked, and a variety of no answers have been given. The facts of the Austrian treaty are communicated, when they can be of no use—that is, when the Treaty has been ratified. Ministers expect to get through the work they have allotted for the short session by next Thursday. But circumstances may disturb the patriotic inefficiency in which a polite House of Commons has sunk itself. The Austrian Treaty is fixed—but it may be disapproved of, and then at least we shall have debates. The Foreigners' Enlistment Bill may take time, or be thrown out. Thus the cry may be raised—and in Parliament—why separate for another Recess?

In talking about the war, the war itself seems somewhat overlooked. This is because the war is stationary. But a winter campaign in the Crimea would seem to be intended by the contribution of Omar Pacha's force of 35,000 men to Lord Raglan's army. Meanwhile, our troops and those of General Canrobert, reinforced into efficiency, are "hutting" for the winter. The tone of our army will be greatly improved by the democratic measure of the Government in deciding on rewarding valour and skill in the ranks with commissions. It is a wise and an honest reform; and we trust the Government will make it complete by adopting the hint of Lord Grey. There is no use in giving Brown a commission unless you give him the pay that will enable him, without fortune or credit, to compete on equal terms with "officers and gentlemen." It is, unhappily, notorious that when Brown becomes an adjutant, quarrels with the men and that officer increase, and this may be because Brown is not promoted into a clearly better position in point of comfort and competence.

The duty, and it was not a formal one, of thanking the army for its great deeds, has been well done by both Houses. Very properly the French shared in the compliment; and Mr. Sidney Herbert took care not to repeat the distinction, to which he committed himself on Tuesday, between the conscript soldier and the volunteer soldier.

Some elections are in progress; but, either as to persons or principles, the results are not likely to be of any importance. The great borough of Marylebone seems hesitating between a dull gentleman who is a Druggist, and a dull gentleman who is Lord. Sir C. Napier seems to have decided on not presenting himself. Why?



## IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

On Tuesday, the Queen opened the third Session of the present Parliament in person. An unusually fine day filled every avenue with unusually large numbers of people, and there was a considerable "rush" even at the ladies' galleries. The Queen entered the House of Lords about half-past two, led by Prince Albert, and attended by the Duchess of Wellington; the Earl of Aberdeen bearing the sword of State, the Marquis of Winchester the cap of maintenance, and the Marquis of Lansdowne the crown. On taking her seat on the Throne, her Majesty gave directions that the Commons should be summoned. A little delay took place in consequence, but in a few minutes the rushing tramp of "the faithful" was heard along the corridors, and the Speaker made his appearance at the bar, attended by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and followed by a disorderly throng of the members, the Ministers present being Lord J. Russell and Sir William Molesworth. Order being in a few seconds restored, her Majesty, in a clear voice, which was distinctly heard all over the house, read the following speech, which was handed to her by the Lord Chancellor:—

## "MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:

"I have called you together at this unusual period of the year, in order that, by your assistance, I may take such measures as will enable me to prosecute the great war in which we are engaged with the utmost vigour and effect. This assistance I know will be readily given; for I cannot doubt that you share my conviction of the necessity of sparing no effort to augment my forces now engaged in the Crimea. The exertions they have made, and the victories they have obtained, are not exceeded in the brightest pages of our history, and have filled me with admiration and gratitude.

"The hearty and efficient co-operation of the brave troops of my ally the Emperor of the French, and the glory acquired in common, cannot fail to cement still more closely the union which happily subsists between the two nations.

"It is with satisfaction I inform you that, together with the Emperor of the French, I have concluded a treaty of alliance with the Emperor of Austria, from which I anticipate important advantages to the common cause.

"I have also concluded a treaty with the United States of America, by which subjects of long and difficult discussion have been equitably adjusted.

"These treaties will be laid before you.

"Although the prosecution of the war will naturally engage your chief attention, I trust that other matters of great interest and importance to the general welfare will not be neglected.

"I rejoice to observe that the general prosperity of my subjects remains uninterrupted. The state of the revenue affords me entire satisfaction; and I trust that by your wisdom and prudence you will continue to promote the progress of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

## "GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

"In the estimates which will be presented to you, I trust, you will find that ample provision has been made for the exigencies of the public service.

## "MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:

"I rely with confidence on your patriotism and public spirit. I feel assured that in the momentous contest in which we are engaged you will exhibit to the world the example of a united people. Thus shall we obtain the respect of other nations, and may trust that by the blessing of God we shall bring the war to a successful termination."

The Queen having then returned the copy of the speech to the Lord Chancellor, bowed, and left the House.

## THE ADDRESS.

The Lords re-assembled at five o'clock, when the Duke of Leeds made the customary motion of an address to the throne. As usual, this matter of ceremony was well received, and Lord Ashburton (in the absence of Lord Abingdon, from indisposition) seconded the motion.

The Earl of Derby then courteously explained that if he had had any intention of offering opposition, he should, at all events, have given the Government time for explanation. They had done his friends and himself injustice by anticipating any opposition. It was no time now to discuss whether the war might have been avoided or not; the nation was engaged in the war, and was urging the Government to carry it on with vigour. He rejoiced in the different tone of the present speech from the Throne compared with the last. Then the war was considered a slight matter, and Parliamentary Reform was proposed as the principal event, in order to produce a great moral effect, and to show how little the war was regarded. Now, *le médecin malgré lui* was fully alive to his position. Of other measures contemplated few had been brought forward, because the people would hear of nothing but the war. He did not know what were the "other matters of great interest and importance"—probably the Cabinet did not—but when her Majesty's Government proposed,

them, he would answer for it that they would receive due consideration. After referring at some length to the French alliance, he suggested that some high military honours should be conferred on General Canrobert. With respect to the conduct of the war, he said Government was too late in the declaration of war—too late in regarding the passage of the Pruth as a *casus belli*—too late in sending our troops to the Black Sea—too complaisant to Russia in not sending our fleets to co-operate with those of France at the proper time—too late in entering the Black Sea—and wrong in not preventing the massacre of Sinope. And when we did go to war, what was the course pursued by the Government? On the 6th March, 1854, a few days before the declaration of war, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knowing that the war was imminent, took an increased vote for something like 10,000 men in the army, and a small number in the navy, and his calculation of the increased expenditure consequent on the war was, as he stated, the sum of 1,250,000*l.*—that being the estimated expense, at 50*l.* per man, of transporting 25,000 troops—where? To meet the Russians? To defend Constantinople? Nothing of the sort. To take them to Malta—and bring them back again. (Laughter.) Their ideas on the subject were soon altered. On the 19th of June last, Lord Clarendon explained that we were not going to protect Constantinople, but to settle for ever the question of Russian supremacy. The Government avowed this, and provided a grossly inadequate army, which had never received anything like reinforcement. The country was able to supply every conceivable requisite, and yet the army had suffered fearful privations. At the latest moment winter clothing and provisions had been sent to the Crimea, but they were sent in the mismanaged Prince, and all were lost. He asked if Government did not know that the captain of that vessel had not been previously found utterly incapable? The induction of the Government in fixing the meeting of Parliament was inexplicable. It was summoned two days earlier, with no apparent reason. The news of the battle of Inkerman was scarcely sufficient. The most splendid fleet ever known has been quite unsuccessful. And why? Because it was too powerful for the Russians to come out to meet, and of too deep a draught of water to allow them to get near enough to Cronstadt. The result was that our fleet in the Baltic has all along been condemned to a state of ignominious inactivity, reminding one of the story of the duel between Sir Richard Strachan and Lord Chatham—

"Lord Chatham, with his sword undrawn,"  
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan,  
Sir Richard, longing to be at him,  
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

With respect to the Austrian alliance, he was simply glad to find her Majesty appeared pleased with it. He believed that the occupation of the Principalities by Austria had done great damage, as it had practically rendered Omar Pacha's army useless by controlling its movements; and that being the case, he thought expressions of satisfaction would simply mean an easy way of getting over the address. As yet, nobody knew the terms of the alliance. The noble earl then concluded with an eloquent "address" to the soldiers in the Crimea.

The Duke of Newcastle then made a long and elaborate reply, with the intention of showing that the Earl of Derby was entirely wrong in his facts; he admitted a few mistakes had been made, but submitted that the accidents which had happened could by no means have been avoided.

Earl Grey reiterated his well-known opinions.

The Earl of Hardwicke thought that Government had not at first understood the case. A strong reserve should have been maintained.

The Earl of Carlisle politely praised the bravery of the troops, and assured the Government that they would go on well—in the long run.

The Earl of Aberdeen.—My lords, I should be sorry to detain your lordships at this late hour for any length of time, but I feel bound to make a few observations in reply to the complaint of the noble earl opposite. He said that this war was undertaken in defence of the liberty of the Turkish empire; but, he added, you have changed the whole character of the war, and this expedition to Sebastopol has removed you from the possibility of obtaining what you desire. Now, I humbly beg to remind the noble earl that if there be one point more than another more vital to the safety and independence of the Turkish empire, and more clearly injurious to the power of Russia, it is the destruction of the fort of Sebastopol. Having driven the Russians out of the Principalities, the next object of the war, which everybody must have had in view from its very commencement, and which we could only have been restrained in by a doubt of its practicability, was the attack and destruction of Sebastopol. Notwithstanding the eager desire and expectation with which this country viewed the first land-

\* This is altogether incorrect; but we have given, in another part of our paper, a correct version, with which we have been favoured by a correspondent.

ing in the Crimea and its immediate consequences—mistaken as they have been—a mistake in which all Europe shared at the time—still I think that there are good grounds to hope that success will attend our efforts, and I totally disagree from the noble earl in thinking that the prospect of peace will be diminished by that success. Quite the contrary; I feel satisfied that nothing could contribute so much to the probability of obtaining those terms of peace which my noble friend near me has alluded to as the signal of the success which I should hope we may achieve in this undertaking. The noble earl also referred to the mention of the treaty with Austria in the speech, and said that he was unwilling to express satisfaction at a treaty of the contents of which he was ignorant, and which might bind us to terms of a highly objectionable nature, such as would not be sanctioned by the people of this country; and he talked of our supporting Austria in Italy, Poland, and Hungary, and denounced any such object as a part of that engagement. The noble earl may make himself perfectly easy upon that score, as no engagement of such a description either exists or ever entered into our minds. It is unnecessary, however, to say this, as I presume that your lordships do not think it possible that we should have made such an engagement; but the noble earl who spoke early in the evening (Derby) did not, I think, correctly understand the import of the sentence in the Address. We do not propose that the House should express any satisfaction at the treaty. We propose only that the House should learn with satisfaction that her Majesty has made a treaty from which she anticipates important advantages. That is all the satisfaction. It is not that we are satisfied until we learn what it is, but that we learn with satisfaction that the Queen has entered into a treaty from which she anticipates advantage. Now, my lords, I think that you may safely express as much satisfaction as that without committing yourselves to a particle of satisfaction with the treaty itself.

The Earl of Derby then pointed the moral of the evening, by saying: The phrase, as interpreted, then, is, that we are exceedingly glad that her Majesty and her Majesty's advisers approve the treaty which they have made. (A laugh.)

The Address was then agreed to, and the House adjourned at 12 o'clock.

The House of Commons assembled on Tuesday at a quarter to four. After several new writs had been ordered, the customary Address was moved.

The Speaker having read the Queen's speech, Mr. H. HERBERT proposed the usual motion for an Address.

Mr. F. LEVESON GOWER seconded the motion in a graceful speech, calling for unity in the House as it is in the nation, it being not only strength to ourselves, but discouraging to the enemy.

Sir J. PAKINGTON rose early, but had no desire to criticise what he had heard. He was glad that the Queen's speech contained nothing to which he could take exception. However, he subsequently made a long speech, which was very similar to that of Lord Derby.

Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT then replied in an elaborate speech, which, of course, occupied precisely the same ground as that of the Duke of Newcastle.

Mr. LAYARD then rose. He supposed Ministers were sincere, but nothing could be done by a Government holding such different opinions. Everything had been mismanaged. He himself had warned them that Varna was unhealthy, but the troops were sent there to die by disease. Doubtless the moral effect of their presence was good. Regarding Sebastopol, if it had been taken by a *coup de main*, did they intend to retain the Crimea? If a regular siege was anticipated, in either case, provision for winter should have been made; as it was, they were left to obtain supplies from the country. Tents might have been taken, had not the means of carriage been neglected. Everything else which was to the advantage of the army had been sacrificed by similar errors. He was of opinion that the Austrian alliance would only lead to fresh difficulties. It was impossible to carry on a war on such a principle, and the moment Russia saw the capture of Sebastopol was inevitable she would withdraw the troops from it, leave some, perhaps, at Percep, and send the rest into Asia. They must conduct the war by means of Poland. They might depend upon it that it was in Europe they must take advantage of Russia; in Asia it was useless to attempt it. He asked what was the principle of economy which had been adopted in carrying on the war? It was to do everything on the smallest scale at the greatest expense. (Cheers and laughter.) He had seen a letter from Liverpool describing the way in which the Government took up vessels there, and the way they threw away money. When pressed by difficulty, and by public opinion being expressed against them, and when they had become desperate to keep their places, they rushed into every measure of expense. They engaged ships, and contracted for horse-boxes to take the cavalry, and incurred the greatest possible expense, but the result was that they lost 200 horses, which were thrown overboard at a moment when cavalry was of the utmost importance to them. He warned them not to waste the resources of the



country on jams and marmalade, but to husband them for the real benefit of the soldiers. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Sidney Herbert) compared what had been done in the present war with what had been done in the Peninsula war to the credit of the former, but had they not made greater progress since the Peninsular war, and was it any credit to a Government to say that the present army was provisioned as well as that of the Peninsula? The fact was they must alter the whole system. They must cut down with the knife unnecessary expenditure, and not entrust the command of their fleets and armies to men of seventy years of age. It was physically impossible for men of that age to perform the duties of active leaders with satisfaction to their own reputation or to that of the country. (Cheers.) Out of those who perished by sickness he believed they might by proper precautions have saved one-third. Let them know what the policy of the Government was. He appealed to the President of the Council, and entreated him by the great name he bore, and as the representative of the great Liberal party, that he would induce the Government to adopt a policy which, if it did not reconcile the conflicting opinions of a Coalition Ministry, might reflect the true interests and important position of this mighty empire. (Cheers.)

No member having risen to address the House, The SPEAKER read the Address, and was about to put the question, when

Colonel DUNKIN rose and expressed his surprise that no member of the Government had risen to answer the strong and pertinent questions of the honourable member for Aylesbury.

Mr. DISRAELI.—I participate in the surprise expressed by the hon. member that none of Her Majesty's Ministers have thought it necessary to make a reply to the speech of the hon. member for Aylesbury. He is not a supporter of this side of the House. He does not sit upon these benches, and he somewhat ostentatiously informed the Lord President that he was peculiarly attached to him. (A laugh.) I have no wish in any way to tamper with the allegiance which the hon. member for Aylesbury owes to the Lord President, but, as on the subject before the consideration of the House, I should give my respectful attention to every gentleman who was master of the subject on which he addressed the House; and I should not forget in the individual instance of the hon. member for Aylesbury that a man of genius addressed the House, and remembering that he has come from the scene of that memorable action which now fills the minds and touches the hearts of the people of this country, and that he has risen to make serious charges against the Ministry, the fact that he has not been answered by the Government is not a circumstance which the hon. member may consider as one which will depreciate him in the public estimate. So far as I can judge of the fitness of a human being—so far as I can form an opinion upon the course of human life, I think the member for Aylesbury will be remembered when the great portion of the existing Cabinet will be forgotten. (Laughter.) I should not have felt particularly anxious to address the House, if I had not thought, from something that has passed, that silence on my part might be misunderstood. I did not expect, Sir—and I witnessed with regret the necessity that I should again have felt it my duty to participate in debates on the present opening of Parliament—to vindicate, as I now have to vindicate, the freedom of discussion. Remembering the position of this country; remembering what has occurred and happened since we last met in this, I may say, agitated Chamber; remembering that the destiny and future fate of this great empire is perhaps at stake; remembering the thrilling events that have occurred; remembering that the people of this country expect if not to have a redress for their grievances, yet expect that there will be some sympathy with their deep emotion—I was surprised to find that the Government should have advised their Sovereign to assemble Parliament, and should have given instructions to their creatures that discussion should not only not be encouraged but resisted—(cheers from the Opposition)—that they should have attempted to conduct affairs—that they should have attempted to govern this country, without unnecessarily appealing to the sense of the House of Commons. I can easily comprehend their difficulties are very great—their embarrassments are increasing—and they might have thought that time and fortune might have mitigated their position, and placed them in a position, two months later, from which they might have appealed with more advantage, but have felt it their duty or necessity to have taken this step. I was surprised that an hon. gentleman whom we have seldom heard, but whom we have to-night heard sounding the address, and who spoke with a promise that makes me wish he would often address us—but still the brother of a Cabinet Minister—I was surprised that he should have impressed on the House the expediency of the silence of the House of Commons. But this is not all. We have had the luxury of one Cabinet Minister on this memorable opening of Parliament, and he has filled his speech with a vindication of his own office, which has been only partially attacked; but he gave the discreet admonition that the loyalty of the House of Commons would be best proved, and its discretion established, by not at the present moment expressing opinions in the face of an anxious country, and I will say, Sir, in the face of an absent army, which

must, I think, under all its difficulties, under all its sufferings, under all its deeds of heroic achievement, have been sustained by the conviction, that when the representatives of the people of England assembled, they would have expressed their sympathy with their sufferings, and perhaps have criticised a Ministry who, in their opinion, had not been prepared to do their duty, and relieve them. (Cheers from the Opposition.) It may be clever in the Lord President to be silent, and the other taciturn secretaries of state who surround him, but they have not acted with decent respect towards the people of this country, and their sense of duty ought to have prevented them from having endeavoured to restrict that frank expression of opinion which is the soul of the House of Commons of this country. (Cheers from the Opposition.) Sir, my hon. friend the member for Drogheda, has to-night taken a course much to his credit, and which will be appreciated by the country; and had this debate terminated with the answer to his speech I should have been silent, for I think that he has indicated the course which it becomes the Conservative Opposition to pursue. I am totally at a loss to comprehend how right hon. gentlemen can bring themselves to such a pitch of feeling that they can rise and protest against the critical opinion of a member of Parliament on the conduct of the affairs of the country. I had last year to touch on this; and there was not an occasion on which the Government brought forward a measure, in every one of which they were ultimately defeated, when gentlemen on these benches expressed a criticism, that they were not told to propose a vote of a want of confidence in the Government; and they had to-night been told by the Secretary-at-War if they had not faith in the Government.—Do not trouble the House with factious criticisms—do not echo here what, perhaps, may be the opinion of the country (laughter), but propose a vote of non-confidence in the council of her Majesty. I had occasion last year to notice the unconstitutional course that is so freely adopted by these gentlemen. I had occasion to show that such a course struck at the root of public discussions and public freedom. I held that it was a privilege of members of this House freely to canvass the conduct of Government, without being forced to incur the responsibility of asking the House of Commons to sanction a change of Ministry. In 1848 we had a Ministry carrying on a war—we had an Opposition supporting the policy of the war; and when Mr. Wyndham canvassed the policy of the Government—and he was no mean authority, and eminently qualified, from his official experience, to speak on such a subject—Mr. Wyndham said, that he trusted that the unanimity of the nation on the subject of the policy of the war would not for a moment be mistaken for a unanimity of the sentiment as to the conduct of the war. So spoke Mr. Wyndham, and he was followed by eminent members of the House, and no one impugned their privileges to address the House; or when they criticised the conduct of the Government, told them they were bound to test the question by a vote of confidence or of non-confidence in the Ministry. Yet his repartee of last session has been brought forward again, and we have been told by the Secretary-at-War, if they adopted his version of his ministerial conduct, as conveyed through the attacks made on them through the press, they were bound to ask the House whether they had, or had not, confidence in the Government. Sir, I protest against these opinions. I see their object, and know what their consequence will be. It will stop discussion, it will degrade the character of the House, and put an end to free discussion, which is the soul of truth, and without which this House can never exist. (Cheers.) But an hon. baronet who bears an honoured name also rose early and unexpectedly in the debate, and made a very remarkable observation. Indulging, as I thought, in a misapprehension which I can hardly conceive that his acute mind could have formed, the hon. baronet referred to a speech which I had felt it my duty to make last year, in which I said, in speaking of the causes of the present war, that on this side the House we confined ourselves to discussing the policy and propriety of the war, but that no captious criticism respecting the conduct of the war would ever, I hoped, be heard from us. I think I then said, representing the feelings of my friends around me, that no future Wellesley, on the banks of the Danube, should ever complain, whatever other difficulties he might have to encounter, of the obstacles offered to him by an English Opposition. That was of course an observation which referred to the military conduct of the war. I meant to say, and I think my meaning was understood by the House, that we had neither the presumption nor the wish to criticise the conduct of naval and military leaders—that we would place in them that unlimited confidence which we were sure the country was prepared to place in men who had been selected by the responsible counsellors of her Majesty; and that, whatever might be the fate of their operations, they should not look back with feelings of bitterness to the factious criticism of political parties as having prevented or retarded that success to which their genius and their labours might have entitled them. But surely the hon. baronet the member for Tamworth would not lay down for a moment that it is not the duty of the House of Commons carefully to scan, and severely even to criticise, the military expeditions conceived, and planned, and matured in the Cabinet of the Sovereign. The hon. gentleman will not, I suppose,

for a moment maintain that Walcheren expeditions are not to be criticised, that conventions of Cintra or Sagrera are to be passed by a humble House of Commons in subdund silence. Why are we a House of Commons? What chance have we of commanding the confidence of the people as being the sacred depositaries of the national sentiment if, when national disasters occur, no echo to the feeling of the people is to be found in this House? If here, of all places, we are to be met by a Minister who says,—“If you disapprove all that has occurred, notwithstanding the emergency, notwithstanding the difficulties in which the Sovereign and the nation are placed, we call upon you to put your opinion to the test, whether you will or not, by the most difficult and dangerous of operations, the sudden change of the Ministers of the Crown?” I am sure that gentlemen, on whichever side they may sit, will see upon reflection that these are principles too dangerous to public liberty to be encouraged, and that we must not for a moment sanction the appeal of a Government, that, upon their measures, whether successful or unsuccessful—however they may have been conceived, whatever may have been their objects or their consequences—it is the duty of the House of Commons, from a feeling of patriotism, to be silent. Why suppose that the House of Commons were silent—suppose that in this probably brief session, we had abstained from all criticism upon what has occurred and is occurring—suppose that we had met and adjourned, having passed those necessary and formal measures which the Lord President probably has ready in that red box to propose to our notice. Should we prevent discussion? Should we prevent the expression of dissatisfaction and discontent in the country? You would have a dissatisfied people out of doors, who, feeling that they could not give a constitutional expression to their sentiments, would have recourse to agitation—more inconvenient, I should have thought, to a Minister than the discussion of public questions in this House, where observations are at least conceived in the spirit of patriotism and expressed in the language of gentlemen. Having adverted to a remarkable expression on the part of the Government of a principle as unfavourable to public discussion as that which has been thrown in our faces to-night, let me for a moment recall the House to the position which they actually fill. I want to divest it of that cloud of official statistics which the Secretary-at-War has found it convenient, with brilliant humour, to throw into our faces. I find no fault with the Secretary-at-War for taking this his first legitimate opportunity to vindicate the conduct of his office with respect to many accusations which have been made against it, not in this House, but allow me to bring to the consideration of the House that the Secretary at War has been most successful in answering the charges which have not been made in the House of Commons. We are called upon to-night to decide whether we will agree to this Address, which, as far as I can follow its language, is an echo of the Speech in my hand—a Speech in some circumstances most remarkable, inasmuch as I believe it is the shortest Speech that ever was delivered from the Throne, and it is confined almost to one subject. Let me remind the House, however, that this Speech commences by an admission of great importance—by an announcement which is certainly calculated to excite the attention of the whole country. We have here, in the gracious Speech of her Majesty, an announcement that her Majesty is involved in a great war. Now, I want to impress the importance of this expression upon the notice of the House. This time last year, when we were virtually, though not formally, in a condition of hostility, no Minister acknowledged that the war, which was soon formally to be announced, was a great war. The most distinguished member of the Cabinet, the Lord President himself, had his hands so full of business last year that he had hardly any time to think of the war. Far from its being a great war in the opinion of the Lord President when Parliament last met, it was scarcely a war at all; but, even if it did eventuate in such a catastrophe, the noble lord was almost prepared to carry on a little civil war of his own. I do not mention this circumstance to taunt her Majesty's Ministers, but these are the only traits by which we can ascertain what were then their feelings and opinions with respect to this immense event. But when it became a formal as well as a virtual war, when it became necessary that a Message from her Majesty should be delivered to this House, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in consequence, to explain to the country and to the House how the war was to be carried on, it is quite clear that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not consider it to be a great war, for he brought forward a very meagre estimate, which anticipated the expense of the transport of troops to foreign countries, and also the expense of their return, both included in the estimate for the year. (A laugh.) I believe I am not misrepresenting the hon. gentleman when I say that we have upon our vote of last session a sum of money for the transport of 25,000 men to Malta and back again, a vote proposed by the Minister of Finance, and passed by a subservient and uncritical Parliament. It is quite evident that these eminent gentlemen had not the least idea that they were engaged in a great war. The noble lord and the Chancellor of the Exchequer may have thought we were engaged in a war, but they cannot have believed it was a great war, when the noble lord was so indifferent to these foreign and ex-

teral circumstances that he was prepared to propose a reconstruction of this House; and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when called upon in his official capacity to propose the first vote for the carrying on of the war, anticipated, not merely the expenditure necessary for the transport of troops, but the expenditure necessary for the return of those troops to this country all in the course of the year. I think, therefore, sir, it is necessary for us to consider the great importance of this phrase. Last year the noble lord said that he did not consider even a war with Russia was a circumstance which ought to prevent a reform in Parliament, if the country thought a reform of Parliament was necessary. The noble lord now has found out that this is a great and not an insignificant war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he was of such a sanguine complexion that on his first proposition of expenditure he anticipated, in the very language of his speech, that the troops would return to this country in the course of the year, proved to the House that the war would not be a war really, but a demonstration. (Cheers.) I am not now imputing it to the Government as matter of blame; at the same time I reserve to myself the right to impute it to them as matter of blame (laughter); but I say it is quite clear that the Ministers of this country, at the commencement of last session, had no conception whatever of the position in which they were, or of the magnitude of the circumstances which they had to encounter. (Cheers.) My right hon. friend the member for Droitwich has, I think, indicated, under these circumstances, the course which a Conservative Opposition, rightly distinguished from other Oppositions to which he has referred, is justified in taking. When her Majesty appeals for support—when her Majesty tells us that she is involved in a great war, and asks us for our assistance—it is our duty, under those circumstances, to express to her Majesty that there are no means at our command that we will not place at her disposal; but surely, if it is so evident, so demonstrative, so transparent that her Majesty's advisers find themselves in a position which they did not anticipate—which they had not the presence or sagacity to suppose would occur—it surely is not an unreasonable or factious course that, while we say we are prepared to support her Majesty in this great struggle by every means in our power, we reserve to ourselves the right of expressing an opinion on the conduct of the Government in respect to this war in the interval, and to judge from that conduct of the manner in which they may spend the resources which we may place at their disposal. (Cheers.) We have had a speech from the only Minister who has condescended to address the House of Commons thus suddenly summoned. We have had a speech of detail—I may say of statistics—adverting to subjects which never have been introduced into our discussions, and which have really in no sense met the great objection which has been urged by my right honourable friend. The Secretary-at-War has proved to us, according to his view, that the hospitals at Scutari at this moment are admirably attended to and regulated. I hope they are. I am willing to believe, upon the statement of the right hon. gentleman, that they are in that position. The right hon. gentleman has endeavoured to persuade us that the medical assistance which the army enjoys is sufficient, or, at least, as great as any Ministerial ability could have supplied. I hope that it is so. All that the right hon. gentleman says I entirely believe. But, were it otherwise—if it were true that there had been this cruel suffering and apparent neglect—if it were true that the commissariat (which no one has attacked, but which the right hon. gentleman has so elaborately vindicated) had been so deficient—if there had been too few servants, too few nurses, and a meagre commissariat, I am sure that I should not have been one who would have attempted, from such a circumstance, to bring a charge against the Administration of this country. I remember—and I may refer to the words, for I dare say no one else remembers them—that, having last year to touch on this subject, I said to myself that at the beginning of war, after a peace so prolonged as that which we were so blessed by Providence to enjoy, the difficulties of inexperience must be so great that it would be most unwise and unbecoming for the House of Commons critically to examine the conduct of individuals who, after all, must be animated by sentiments as humane and influenced by responsibility much greater than we ourselves can feel. And to night, Sir, I have not heard any expressions used in this house impugning the arrangements of the commissariat or arrangements of a similar kind to which I have adverted; but to accusations that may have appeared in anonymous quarters the right hon. gentleman has found time to make an elaborate answer, though no member of the Government has found time to make an answer to charges brought in debate against the Administration by a member of this House, expressed with a knowledge of the subject, and conveyed with ability, and in a spirit deserving, in my opinion, the thought and attention of this assembly. (Cheers.) I will advert in a moment to what was the charge brought forward by my right hon. friend—a charge, let me again impress on this House, not brought forward in the way of ostentatious accusation as the foundation of motions against the Government—not brought forward with any anxiety to damage the character, the position, or the conduct of the Government, but brought forward necessarily from

the position which we all occupy at this moment, from the sudden summoning of Parliament, which calls upon us, by the motion of the hon. gentleman opposite, in a certain sense—I admit in a restricted and limited degree—to express our opinion on public affairs. Before I advert to what was the distinct and really the only charge, yet so important that no other was necessary, which has been made by my right hon. friend, let me for a moment take this great question out of that cloud of the details of office with which it has been conveniently encumbered by the Secretary-at-War, and place it in its true and rude simplicity before the consideration of the House of Commons and of the country. It is some nine or ten months ago, after an agitating year of warning, that her Majesty was advised by her Ministers to send a message to Parliament to announce a declaration of war against Russia. I say that no Ministers ever gave such important advice to their Sovereign under such favourable circumstances as my Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues. Why, look at the facts! They had a unanimous Parliament, and a unanimous people. The war was popular. This House had expressed its willingness to vote any supplies, without any reference to party confidence whatever, which her Majesty's Ministers might propose. They had an overflowing Exchequer. They had a prosperous people. In addition to all these advantages, they had the most powerful ally in the world. (Cheers from both sides of the House.) Let it be understood, you entered upon war under these circumstances. These circumstances are forgotten in the petty views and the petty details and the petty consequences which steal into our debates on this subject. We hear of the inconvenience of free Government to powerful political action. It is said that, although the public spirit under a despotic Government may not be equal to the spirit of a free people—that, although the conscript (not too adroitly mentioned by the Secretary-at-War) may not fight as the militiaman who has been voluntarily enlisted, a despotism has still the advantages of unity of design, of singleness of purpose, and of that decision, vigour, and effect which is the consequence of such antecedents. But her Majesty's Ministers had all the unity of despotism and all the spirit of a free people on their side. What they wanted they might have had as readily as the Emperor of Russia when he signs a ukase. There was no number of men, no amount of treasure, which they might not have commanded, and the money was given freely by a free people, and the men were animated by that immortal spirit which has rendered their achievements the mark for the approbation of an admiring world. (Cheers.) They have, they say, an overflowing purse, prosperous people, and a popular war. They have the most powerful ally in the world. They have this combination of circumstances in their favour, on entering into this war, which no Minister at any period ever enjoyed before. I now ask the House for a moment to turn round and consider not whether there were sufficient nurses or surgeons at Scutari—not what should be the amount of pots of marmalade which should be sent out towards the support of our starving troops—but I ask this House to consider what has been the effect which this Ministry, with these enormous and ever-increasing advantages, have obtained. (Opposition cheers.) You determined to attack the powerful ruler of a country against whom you had declared war in two opposite quarters of the world—the extremities almost of his vast dominions; you fitted out armadas to attack him in two seas; you sent out an army which was to attack him in the most important fortress in Europe. What have you done? The Secretary-at-War sneers at the notice which my right hon. friend had taken of the achievements in the Baltic. If the ideas of the Secretary-at-War, that the national success is a sufficient return for the efforts of this country, are correct, and that our success is to be measured by our achievements in the Baltic, then I confess I have little hope, and I shall have less hope than I at present possess of the successful conduct of the war, if carried on by the present Government. Why, sir, let me recall to the House the strength of the united fleet that entered the Baltic. It was greater than any armada that ever figured in the history of our times; it was greater than the united fleets of France and Spain that met Nelson at Trafalgar. Let me recall to the House the circumstances under which that important fleet was inaugurated. It occasioned a debate in the House of Commons, and therefore I have no doubt it will be in the recollection of every one present. The head of the Admiralty of this country, the profound statesman and experienced senator who had so long presided, at various periods, over that department himself, was a guest at a public dinner which was given to the commander of that important enterprise. A most experienced statesman of the country, one who had presided so long over the foreign affairs of the nation, a department which, it is supposed, imparts a peculiar character of discretion to human conduct—that noble lord was also present upon that occasion, and in the face of Europe, and before an admiring, an applauding England—these, two of the men of whom, in this House, we are most proud, two of the statesmen to whom Europe looks up with the most respect, the most dread, the most awe—these two statesmen were present as the principal guests of a public banquet given at a political club, in order to inaugurate the captaincy of this great enter-

prise. What were the expectations which these speakers permitted the country to indulge in? We are at this moment entirely engrossed in the important affairs which have taken place in the Black Sea. For more than two months the feelings of every hearth in this country have been absorbed; but at that moment so one thought of the Black Sea or of Sebastopol. They were of minor importance, and of diminutive proportions as compared with those vast preparations, and that enormous armament which was draughted from our shores under the blessings and the benison of our most experienced statesmen, and it had the advantage, moreover, of being commanded by a true Reformer. (Laughter.) Well, the Secretary-at-War pretended that the capture of Bomarsund was all that was intended or thought of for the moment. I will not say whether the Secretary-at-War never heard of Bomarsund, because he is a well-informed gentleman, and it might be personal, but this I do know, that I have read, in a very authoritative document, that it was not only projected, but at one time it was settled, that Bomarsund and the fortifications in the Baltic should be destroyed, preparatory to the entrance of our fleets into that sea, and therefore, under those circumstances, and remembering the policy which was afterwards partially followed, I hardly think it was worth while to send for a Marshal of France and 10,000 French troops to destroy that which a company of marines would have finished in a few hours, and which, at all events, was not accomplished by that vast armada which had been sent out. Surely, then, my right hon. friend was not irregular in alluding to the expedition to the Baltic, and saying that, although one of our greatest enterprises, it has not been attended by any results at all commensurate with the expectations of the country. Why did not the noble lord the President of the Council propose a vote of thanks to those who were concerned in that enterprise? (Cheers from the Opposition.) Had the noble lord proposed such a vote, I should have been glad, for we should have been enabled to make inquiries, and the Ministers might have been able to throw some light on that perplexed and obscure subject, and might have afforded some satisfaction to the public mind. Then, sir, I come to the second-rate scene in which the Government are concerned—the Government which, let me impress upon you, entered upon this with advantages which no other Ministry ever yet experienced, and with a combination of circumstances in their favour which never can occur again probably in the history of this country. What did you do with the army which you sent? You explained your conduct, and you explained their course; but your explanations do not affect the result, and you cannot deny that they have accomplished nothing—that the plans which you had devised were barren and fruitless. The Secretary-at-War tells you that you were watching all that time the course of events, and that such troops as might have been spared by the pest, which was not contemplated, would have influenced the conduct of the Russian forces; but he has not told us that if it was necessary to move those troops they would have been moved. Whatever might have been the fate of Silistria—whatever might have been the conduct of the Turkish army on the Danube—you have not answered the question whether you had sufficient means to assist them; and I think the member for Aylesbury has fully demonstrated that you could not. Then, what do you do? You attack with a force of 20,000 or 30,000 men a fortress probably as strong as Gibraltar. And under what circumstances did you undertake this enterprise? The Secretary-at-War tells you that he did not expect the reserve, but he tells you that his object was to strike at the heart of Russia and the power of Russia in the south; and therefore they attacked Sebastopol. Brave words, these! But if you attack the place at the wrong time, and with ineffective means, you have no excuse for your conduct. That brings me to the point which has been raised by the right honourable gentleman the member for Droitwich. My right honourable friend the member for Droitwich happened to make an observation that our army were embarked without tents, upon which the Secretary-at-War dilated immensely upon the question of tents. What was the question of tents, the question of surgeons, the question of nurses, the question of lint, and other questions of that kind with which the Secretary-at-War for an hour and a half occupied the House, compared with the general policy of the Ministry, which had undertaken war with the greatest military Power perhaps in the world, with the greatest means, and under the most favourable circumstances. Why, Sir, with respect to the question of tents, that was satisfactorily answered by the member for Aylesbury. But I will not argue the question on such miserable details as this; but I will refer to the charge which has been made by my right hon. friend, and which has never been answered. Why, when you undertook so rash an enterprise as the invasion of Russia with 25,000 men, did you not immediately make due preparations to increase, to support, and to sustain your force? (Opposition cheers.) What answer has the Secretary-at-War made? The Secretary-at-War reads us a catalogue of reinforcements sent after the event. (Renewed Opposition cheers.) The very evidence which the Secretary-at-War brings forward proves the justice of the charge of my right hon. friend. If, indeed, it were necessary to demonstrate the justice of that charge, the stern events



that have touched us all have long ago proved it to the conviction of the people of this country. If you are sending reinforcements now, why did you not send them here before? Why are you, in the months of November and December, doing that which you might have done a year ago? "Oh," says the Secretary-at-War, "it is very well to tell us to send men, but where are we to get them?" Why, Sir, if that be our position, why not go down on our bended knees to the Czar as soon as we can? (*Cheers from the Opposition.*) Acknowledge that you have undertaken an enterprise to which you are not equal. Tell him at once that you have not entered into the circumstances of the case; that for two years you have been living from hand to mouth, and have not calculated the consequences of what you have undertaken; and now the Secretary-at-War is telling the whole country that when they wanted reinforcements not a man was to be got. I want to know if you were equal to the position which you occupy. If you really comprehended the circumstances you had to meet, if you knew the stake at issue, if you knew that you had to deal with the solution of the most difficult political problem of modern ages, then why did you not have recourse to those measures which you now require at our hands? (*Cheers.*) The militia is embodied and you offer an additional bounty. Why was not the militia embodied twelve months ago, and why did you not offer the bounty when you declared war? Not a word did you then say. All you wished to do was to postpone the Reform Bill, without compromising your character. These things might do for a moment, mid the common strife of parties; but now that we have our all at stake—when we have not a Parliament political, but a nation political; when we have the people of this country thoroughly understanding what are the matters at issue, such conduct is not to be tolerated. Of all the courses that ever yet has been pursued by a Minister, that he should call Parliament together suddenly to us, and, I will show, suddenly also to themselves, and to say to us, you shall meet, but you shall discuss nothing, is a course the most extraordinary, and those who are capable of resorting to such tactics are not worthy of their position or of the spirit of the country which it is of the utmost importance to sustain and encourage. (*Cheers.*) In what position have you placed us with respect to your management of the war? Why, there is not a gentleman on the Treasury bench who must not feel shame when he contrasts the spirit in which the Baltic fleet went forth, and the miserable results which have followed from it. Surely, when a Minister manages the affairs of the country in such a way as to bring it into a state of war with the greatest empire in the world, you will agree with me that such a position should not have been arrived at, that such a decision should not have been come to but after deep thought, and after the most ample knowledge of the nature of that position. You may possibly have expected that your negotiations would terminate in peace, and I believe you did, because I know that when a body of men counsel together of different opinions as to the assumption of a most difficult and responsible course, however varying their opinions, they have the consolatory conviction that they will never be called upon to act. I believe the Coalition Cabinet from the first flattered themselves with the belief that the circumstances which they have now to encounter would not happen during their lives. I believe the First Minister thought so, following a course of opinion different to that of the Secretary of State opposite, who always upheld the notion that it would be idle to dream of war against Russia, carried on by her cherished and almost spoiled child. I believe the noble lord, in the abstraction of his study, indulging in dreams of what is called Liberalism, may have felt there was no probability, especially in the company he kept, of doing that which he only dreamt of in early youth. All this I can conceive; and I know it, further, from the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Manchester, and the budgets of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We know no two of them were ever of one mind, and I do not suppose any three of them supposed the result would be as they have found it. I still maintain that each man must have had an *arrière pensée*. But no one made up his mind, and I leave you to decide what is your position, having involved the country in war. You ought not to have taken such a course unless you were prepared for all the consequences which men of such ability, knowledge, and wisdom must have anticipated, unless they chose wilfully to shut their eyes. I said just now they called Parliament together unexpectedly. I object that the Government has done everything unexpectedly. Everything is done too late—doctors, nurses—all come too late. When the catastrophe which every one expected came at last—a hurricane—your transports were wrecked. The picture is not overcharged. Is it a consolatory one? Then, under such circumstances, Parliament is called together to meet *sub silentio*, and even that is done when too late. You prorogued Parliament to the 14th, thinking it unnecessary to meet, and then you deny your former decision, and are obliged to interfere with the prerogative of the Crown by the scurvy, as I may call it, means of an Act of Parliament, and call us together on the 12th. I should like to know what influenced these gentlemen when they recommended their sovereign to prorogue Parliament till the

14th. The same circumstances existed then as a few days after, when a different opinion was arrived at. This is no ordinary occasion, and I want to know why Ministers have changed their opinions. If it is necessary now to provide for an immediate increase of our forces, it was necessary when they advised her Majesty to prorogue to the 14th. In this deplorable state of things we are only sustained by the remembrance of the unsurpassed heroism of our troops. A winter campaign would have been unnecessary if Ministers had had more foresight and sagacity. It seems, however, from a passage at the end of the speech, that it is not to our magnificent fleets or our heroic troops that we are to look for a termination of the war, but a specific is to be found in an alliance which her Majesty has concluded with the Emperor of Austria, from which she anticipates important advantages for the common cause. I hope the noble lord (J. Russell) will condescend to address the House, and I would impress on him that the House expects that on this subject he should speak with some degree of frankness. We are asked to assist Her Majesty to prosecute the war with vigour. I say we can't decide what means are necessary, unless we have some idea of the assistance we are to have from our allies. The alliance is an honest, sincere one—precious, generous, cordial, and sincere. It is generous when we recollect the vituperative tone in which the Emperor of the French was spoken of a little time ago. Nothing is more creditable to the Emperor and the French nation than that they have forgotten that, and co-operated with us in this war. I remember a Secretary of State was expelled by the noble lord the President of the Council, because he expressed confidence in the character of the Emperor Napoleon. The First Lord of the Admiralty engrafted on his manifesto against Lord Derby's Government a diatribe against the Emperor Napoleon. I remember another member of the Cabinet, not so illustrious, determined to outdo the right hon. gentleman, and not only abused the Emperor, but maligned the people of France. I recollect the present head of the Government raised an objection to the Government of which I was a member that we had shown an indecent haste in recognising the Emperor Napoleon. But the alliance of France is based on higher grounds; it is an alliance of the people which required no secret article. A year ago, when the massacre of Sinope had laid low the spirit of the nation, darkened by the incapacity of the Government, the First Lord of the Admiralty rose and admitted the misfortune, and said we all learn from experience. The massacre of Sinope took place in order that we might obtain the alliance of the German Powers. Have the German Powers become your allies? I do not yet see that there is a secret article in favour of Prussia, but Austria has entered into a treaty from which we are to anticipate important advantages to the common cause. With regard to that treaty, the noble lord may perhaps tell us that it is not yet ratified, but that when ratified it will be laid on the table. I can hardly believe, however, that a man of the great abilities and lofty spirit of the noble lord will make such a wretched excuse. It is not an unusual thing, when a Minister is demanding from the House of Commons great sacrifices for his Sovereign, that he should say what is the simultaneous assistance we are to derive from those allies. If this assistance is to be clogged with some cumbrous machinery, the intervention, perhaps, of what are called the "Four points," then, I say, it will be the greatest hallucination ever heard of to imagine that Austria is going to supply any of its means. The present Coalition Government was formed on four points (*a laugh*)—1st, the preservation of peace; 2nd, the extension of free trade; 3rd, Parliamentary reform; and 4th, national education; but if these Austrian points are not easier of accomplishment than those which the noble lord promised us, and for which some gentlemen sacrificed their principles and some only their party (*laughter*), but for which the noble lord sacrificed both, I for one shall certainly feel that we are not in a position to receive much encouragement from these promises of the Austrian Government. If the Government will not be frank on this subject to the House, it will, I venture to say, be wise in them to be frank to the people of this country. The spirit at least of that Austrian alliance ought to be communicated to the House of Commons. The country ought to know if Austria is to act, or merely to watch the game and profit by it in the end? Is it an offensive and defensive alliance? Will she send troops? Is she to be an ally that will ratify her alliance in blood, like the French? If we do not hear that to-night, then this meeting of Parliament, and this communication from her Majesty, will not have the effect which I earnestly desire. I say, for me no Austrian assistance—no four points, no secret article; but let France and England together solve this great question, and establish and secure the civilisation of Europe. (*Cheers.*)

LORD JOHN RUSSELL: The right honourable gentleman opposite, the member for Droitwich, in a speech of remarkable ability, and at the same time as I thought of great fairness, asked for an explanation from the servants of the Crown with regard to several circumstances upon which he had conceived doubt, with regard to several objections which he entertained to the policy that had been pursued. And he ended with saying, as I understood him, that although he entertained those

objections they did not appear to him to amount to such a charge against her Majesty's Ministers as to induce him to take part in any effort to cause a change of Ministry; but that if hereafter he should not find that they were carried on according to what he believed to be the true policy of the country, he would think himself justified to make some parliamentary effort for that purpose. That declaration itself was a satisfactory one; and with the conduct of the right honourable baronet I have no fault to find. But the right honourable gentleman who has just spoken, has spoken in a totally different spirit. While his right honourable friend does not propose to displace Ministers, he has endeavoured by every means in his power to weaken the confidence which the country may feel in their efforts; he has endeavoured to weaken the alliance between this country and France, and has raised every objection that his fertile mind can create with respect to an alliance upon which we have recently entered; he has said everything moreover which was calculated to damp the hopes which this country indulged of a glorious termination to the war. Sir, I cannot say, therefore—after the speech of the right honourable baronet the member for Droitwich, and especially the feeling manner in which he referred to two members of the House, one of whom is now no more—that there was one germ of patriotism in the speech of the right honourable gentleman the member for Buckinghamshire. (*Cheers.*) The right honourable gentleman began with a most curious prologue, which seemed to me at this late hour of the night to be peculiarly unnecessary. He began with a protest in favour of liberty of speech in this House, and said it was his determination to resist any attempt which Ministers might make to suppress the usual freedom of speech which you, sir, ask from her Majesty at the beginning of every session. I am accused sometimes of never speaking without offering an encomium upon Magna Charta. (*A laugh.*) Were I to do so now, it certainly would not be more out of place and unnecessary than the right honourable gentleman's eloquent vindication of the liberty of speech. We certainly have a very grave question before us, and we are engaged in a great war. The right honourable gentleman says, that we never conceived the magnitude and power of the enemy. Now the right honourable gentleman the member for Droitwich alluded to a speech of mine made last session, which has induced me to look back to the report that was given of it at the time, and I find these words in it. "It is in this mighty contest that Europe is engaged, and it were to mislead the House if I were to say that, being engaged with such an enemy of immense power, of great influence and talent, we yet hoped for an early termination of the contest." That shows, at all events, that I did not attempt to diminish the greatness of the contest in which we were engaged. But, sir, with regard to the mode of carrying on the contest, although certainly I shall not attempt to go over the ground which my right honourable friend the Secretary-at-War went over with such remarkable ability, dividing and illustrating every detail with spirit and eloquence, yet, sir, there are some points of this contest which I shall venture to touch upon before the debate closes; and, first, I would speak with respect to the army which we sent to the East. That army so sent out at the request of Omar Pasha, took up a position at Varna and its neighbourhood, by which it was supposed that afterwards it would be made use of to raise the siege of Silistria. The right honourable gentleman says we have not yet declared whether that army was provided with the means of transit; but I will again say on that subject that means of transit were provided, and had the siege not been raised, no doubt they would have been used by Lord Raglan. Again, my honourable friend the member for Aylesbury complains that the army was landed in the Crimea without being at once provided with the means of transport. Why, does he suppose that Lord Raglan could have sent orders for such means with the enemy close upon him when he landed? Still there were means provided at Varna and its neighbourhood, but the main question was whether such an expedition should be undertaken. In considering that question I beg the House to consider what must have been the alternative to that. We had sent an army to assist Turkey; not only an English but a French army was assembled in that country, and the Danube having been recrossed by the enemy, what was the course open to us? Should we have taken the army back to Constantinople, and allowed it to remain there the rest of the summer? No; it is quite obvious such a course would have been a great disappointment to the people of this country; it would have been a great disappointment to the army itself, and the national spirit would have been shaken by taking a course which implied so great a fear of the forces of Russia. Well, then, should we order the army across the Danube to act against the Russian army? If we had done so, we should have been met by the immense forces collected in Bessarabia, and therefore no such movement could have been undertaken with any effect. There remained, therefore, the question of the expedition to the Crimea, and although there were many parties against that expedition, there were some of the ablest men both in the French army and fleet and the English army and fleet who spoke with confidence of such an expedition. I confess I was one of those who felt confidence in it. I believed it was a great risk, but I believed there was a great object to be

obtained; that if we destroyed that stronghold of Russian power—Sebastopol—we should be enabled to give to Turkey that security which was the great purpose of the war. The right honourable gentleman alluded to a speech of mine, and said that in that speech I gave notice to Russia that such an expedition was to be undertaken; but the tone of that speech was entirely misapprehended. It had often been asked what was the object of the war, and I was endeavouring to point out those guarantees upon which Turkey might again be enabled to resume her relations with Russia. But, sir, with respect to the sentiments which I then uttered, I have referred to them now, not merely for the purpose of showing what a wrong interpretation had been placed on them, but for the purpose of saying that what I considered to be necessary then I consider to be necessary now. I believe no peace would be safe for Turkey, I believe no peace would be honourable to this country which left Sebastopol in the same menacing position in which it had been of late years before the war. (Cheers.) Well, if that is the case, how important it is that, by our success in the Crimea, we should attain the means of fixing these conditions. I will not refer to what the right hon. gentleman opposite said with respect to the Baltic, except to say that I think the admirals who have commanded both in the Black Sea and the Baltic have been very unfairly attacked; I believe that it would have been a great misfortune if, by an unsuccessful attack upon a place like Cronstadt, which has great means of defence, we should have involved the loss of three or four of our line-of-battle ships. The right hon. gentleman and my honourable friend referred to the treaty with Austria, and I do not pretend to give the House an accurate statement of the terms of that treaty, but I am quite ready to say what I think has been the position, and what is the position, of Austria in regard to this country. I was never satisfied that Austria had pursued that course which her duty to Europe should have induced her to take. I think that in this case, which concerns all Europe, and with which the independence of Europe was intimately concerned, Austria, as a great European power, ought to have earlier joined the maritime powers. I think, besides, that Austria was more nearly affected, and that her danger was greater than that of England and France; but, on the other hand, a cautious power like Austria saw that the danger to her of a war with Russia was greater than it could be to England and France. The military establishment of Austria was low, and had been reduced very lately, and her first step was to increase her military force. It was only at the end of July last that her preparations were nearly completed, and I remember perfectly well at the end of the session that I stated, in answer to a question from the hon. member for Montrose (whose absence this evening I lament)—that I said that though Austria was pledged not to make any arrangement with Russia, except on certain bases that had been laid down, she was by no means pledged to undertake a war in conjunction with the maritime powers. She has now gone a step further, but has not gone as far as she is expected to go if peace be not restored at the end of the year. She has agreed with us that if she should be at war with Russia, a treaty offensive and defensive should *ipso facto* exist between Austria, England, and France. She has likewise agreed that, before the end of the year, she will take into further consideration what steps she will be prepared to take with respect to the terms of peace with Russia. Now I understand the meaning of that article, certainly, as not containing anything very precise. I understand, however, the meaning of that article to be that, if England and France shall propose conditions of peace which are in conformity with the four bases, and which seem to Austria to come within the terms of those bases, and if Russia shall refuse her assent to such treaty of peace, then Austria will no longer hesitate, but take part in the alliance, and that an offensive and defensive alliance will take place. I do not wish to overstate the engagement in any way; and I admit that Austria might still, at the last moment, say that the terms would reduce Russia too much, and diminish too greatly her weight in Europe, and that she could never be expected to agree to them. Such might be her language. She leaves herself at liberty to say this without any breach of faith, and one of the last things I should wish to do would be to impute to Austria a breach of faith if ultimately she did not form part of the alliance, but my explanation is that she does concur with us in respect to the bases that are absolutely necessary for the security of Turkey; and that if Russia does not consent to a treaty of peace on those bases, then that in the next campaign the forces of Austria will be joined with those of England and France. It may be said that we should have got far better terms but we could not enforce terms on an independent power, and it is better to have such a treaty with Austria rather than leave Austria unconnected with us and without any ties to bind her to us. That was the belief of her Majesty's Government, and still more strongly the persuasion of the Government of the Emperor of the French. I always thought it was much to be lamented that Austria was so tardy and Russia had been enabled to despatch a part of her troops on the Danube to the Crimea, which placed our gallant troops there at so great a disadvantage. I would agree with much of what the honourable member for Aylesbury has said

with respect to three of the conditions but that I never have been able to get anybody to tell me how we are to effect our object except by a long and protracted war. I was sorry to hear an honourable friend of mine speak of the battle of Inkerman as a fatal battle. Now, my belief is, that though the losses were heavy, and though the nation has great reason to deplore those losses, and although many families will spend the approaching season in affliction who might have hoped to pass it in joy and comfort, yet that, for a great national object, the victory has not been thrown away. The bravery and valour which were displayed upon the heights of Inkerman will teach the nations of Europe to respect our character and the military prowess which we have shown, and it is as likely as almost any event that could be named to bring about the conclusion of an honourable peace. (Cheers.) Deeds like these, you may depend upon it, though not followed by the rout of an enemy, or accompanied with the gain of a large territory, or the surrender of a fortress, will be fruitful of consequences, and maintain the character of the nation by whose soldiers they were achieved. (Cheers.) While this country has such deeds of heroism to boast of, you may depend upon it that the mightiest nations of Europe will dread our enmity, and be anxious to secure our friendship. (Cheers.) With this persuasion, I shall ask the House to vote its thanks to those gallant men, and to our gallant allies, the French army, who fought by the side of our troops at Alma and Inkerman, and assisted them to defeat the enemy. (Cheers.) With such an alliance, with such prudent conduct in regard to other powers, and with the determination in this country, which I believe is strong, that the war in which her Majesty is at present engaged must be brought to a just, and honourable, and glorious termination, I feel full of hope for the result of the contest. (Loud cheers.)

#### MILITIA VOLUNTEER SERVICE BILL.

On Tuesday Viscount PALMERSTON moved,

"For leave to introduce a bill for the purpose of enabling her Majesty to accept offers that might be made by militia regiments—whole regiments or portions of regiments—for service in places out of the United Kingdom. Ministers had been accused of having entered into a war, and having undertaken a great and arduous enterprise without having provided any reserve. His answer to that was, that the reserve on which her Majesty's Government had counted was the British union. He was convinced that the expectations they had formed would not be disappointed, and that by voluntary offers of service from the militia, whether from whole regiments or portions of regiments, means would be afforded to the Government to carry on the war with all that energy and vigour which the circumstances of the case might require. The bill was framed on the model of the act which had been passed towards the conclusion of the last war, by which the Government of the day was enabled to accept the services of militia regiments then for the purpose of more active operations than those for which it was the present intention of Government to ask the militia to volunteer. It would be remembered that, at the close of the last war, after the militia had afforded very large and ample reinforcements to the line, and the voluntary transfer of the services of the men from one description of force to another, an act was passed by which regiments and portions of regiments were enabled to offer their services to join the army then under the orders of the Duke of Wellington, and under this act militia battalions were raised for foreign service through the influence of Sir Watkin Wynn, the Duke of Buckingham, and other personages of distinction. It was not the present intention of Government to ask the militia to volunteer for the purpose of joining the army under Lord Raglan; the object which they had in view was that the militia should be invited to volunteer their services to do garrison duty in certain places in the Mediterranean, and thereby to set free such regiments of the line as would otherwise be required for the purposes of those garrisons. Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands would probably be the places to which offers of service would be confined. Circumstances might happen that might also induce her Majesty's Government to ask regiments of militia to volunteer to do garrison duty in some of the North American provinces, but though the bill which he should have to present would, for the sake of convenience, enable the Crown to accept the services of militia regiments for any place out of the United Kingdom, of course the offer would be made to regiments to specify the station for which their services should be given, and the present intention of Government was to limit that offer of voluntary service to the stations which he had mentioned in the Mediterranean. He could entertain no doubt that such offers of service would be freely and amply made. It was impossible to do more than justice to the spirit by which the militia regiments had been animated, and he was happy to say that the reports which were made by the officers who were appointed to inspect them at periodical training times, inspired the conviction that they had made most extraordinary progress in the attainment of military discipline and efficiency. He was convinced that any regiment of militia which might volunteer for service in any of the garrisons he had mentioned, would be as efficient for the purpose,

and as creditable to the country to which they belonged, as any regiments of the line whose place they might volunteer to fill. He was happy to say that there had been hardly a single exception—he thought not one—to the general offer of militia regiments to be embodied for permanent duty at home, as circumstances might require, and that led him to think they should not be disappointed in having quite as many offers for service in the garrisons he had mentioned as the necessities of the case might induce them to think proper to accept. He did not know that he need say anything further, as he could not anticipate that there would be any objection to the motion he had made. He was sure that militia regiments would think they were doing honour to themselves in availing themselves of the opportunity of performing service in the places he had mentioned, and that officers in the militia would not only encourage their men to transfer their services from the militia to the line, but that regiments and portions of regiments amply sufficient to meet the wants of the garrisons abroad would offer themselves for this extended service."

Mr. NEWDEGATE asked whether this measure was subsidiary to the formation of an army of reserve to be within Lord Raglan's reach, or was the army in the Crimea to be still without an available reserve?

Mr. S. HERBERT said: "The Government has felt strongly the necessity of forming, with as much rapidity as possible, an efficient reserve for Lord Raglan's army. The principal difficulty will be the great distance of this country from the seat of war. The intention, therefore, is to form additional companies to every regiment commanded by Lord Raglan, and to place those companies, so soon as they have passed through their preliminary drill, in that position which will render them most convenient for him to send for. The intention is to place those additional companies in reserve at Malta, which, it is thought, will offer most convenient access to Lord Raglan. I hope we shall be able to get four additional companies to every regiment. At the same time, we cannot place four companies of every regiment in garrison at Malta; but so far as the accommodation will enable us to do it, our reserve will be placed there."

Col. SIBTHORP pronounced a glowing eulogium on the Lincolnshire Militia, and expressed his approval of the measure.

After some little captious opposition,

Mr. PALK thought that by an appeal to the patriotism of the labourers, they were depriving the labouring class of its best energies, and taking away the pith and marrow of agriculture. He trusted that the noble lord had taken by this bill some means of providing for the families of those who might perish or be disabled.

After some further discussion the bill was introduced and read a first time.

On Thursday, on the order of the day for the second reading,

Objections were urged to points of detail by Colonel SIBTHORP and Lord LOVAIN, who suggested that on the volunteering of a militia regiment another militia regiment should be raised in the country.

Lord PALMERSTON said such a step was not contemplated by the Government. There were many county gentlemen now in the militia whose social position rendered it far more important that they should stay at home than that they should do garrison duty abroad. No imputation would, therefore, be made on the public spirit of any gentleman who declined to volunteer; and, on the other hand, he hoped, if her Majesty declined the services of any gentleman who did volunteer, it would not be considered a slur on his character.

The bill was then read a second time. On the motion that it be committed to-morrow,

Mr. DUNBAR suggested that the committee be delayed till Monday, and in doing so, he expressed his regret that such a measure should have been introduced at the present time. It would render the militia service unpopular in the country, and it would give foreign nations the idea that we were already at the end of our resources. He was therefore opposed to the principle of the bill, but, in the present circumstances, he would not offer any opposition to the Government.

The bill was then ordered to be committed on Monday.

On Wednesday, after the usual formalities respecting the Address had been gone through, Admiral WALCOT, in resumption of the debate of the preceding evening, spoke in favour of strong measures for carrying on the war, and Mr. A. PELLATT congratulated the House on the French alliance, which he thought would be cemented by abolishing the duty on French wines. A war tax on fixed property, he thought, would be desirable. Sir H. WILLOUGHBY, Mr. ALCOCK, and Colonel SIBTHORP, all had their objections in turn—to the attack on Sebastopol—the Austrian alliance—and the inactivity of the fleet—which latter was declared good policy by Mr. RICE.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER did not wish to repeat the arguments of the previous evening. They were asked what was going to be done, but



explanations would be impolitic, and would be complained of as they had been before. He then at some length defended the Baltic fleet, which he thought not too strong, and explained the number of troops sent out:

"The honourable gentleman referring to the Crimea had said, 'What brought you to suppose, when you considered the great masses of men that are necessary to conduct the invasion of a powerful country, that Russia could be simply invaded by an army of 50,000?' But who ever supposed that Russia could be invaded by an army of 50,000 men? The first landing on Russian territory may have been a landing of 50,000 men; and I find the hon. gentleman includes that in his category that nothing has been done. The hon. gentleman thinks the landing of 50,000 men in the Crimea, the horses of cavalry and artillery, and of heavy guns to carry on the siege, was doing nothing. But the hon. member is wrong if he supposes that 50,000 men represented the number that could have been carried over from Varna to the Crimea, though a large operation that reflected the highest credit on the military and naval commanders. The hon. gentleman entirely forgets that even at that moment the force that was sent to the East by England and France did not fall short of 80,000 men. And how do matters stand now? My right hon. friend acquainted with the House last night that the British force sent to the East is now close upon 55,000 men. I cannot give the same formal and official return up to the latest moment of the French force, but I apprehend that I am fully justified, from the information in our possession, in stating that the French force despatched to the East up to the present moment is little short of 100,000 men—certainly not less than from 90,000 to 95,000."

#### Respecting the Austrian alliance,

"The treaty has not yet been ratified, and until the ratifications of the treaty are exchanged, it would be a departure both from uniform practice and from obvious prudence if the Government were to lay that treaty upon the table; but, of course, it will be laid upon the table the first moment that it is in the power of the Government to make it known to Parliament. It is open to the right honourable baronet, after having voted for the present address, to express his disapprobation of it in any manner he pleases, and if he think fit—though I do not anticipate it—to move a vote of censure on the Government for having advised her Majesty to negotiate such a treaty. The address merely states, 'That we have heard with satisfaction that, with the Emperor of the French, your Majesty has concluded a treaty of alliance with the Emperor of Austria, from which your Majesty anticipates important advantages to the common cause.' We pronounce no opinion upon the question whether the treaty promises to be greatly advantageous to the common cause, but merely say we learn with satisfaction that her Majesty entertains such an expectation. He hoped that nobody would say anything had been done. Let them remember that two battles had been won, and that Constantinople was no longer in danger."

Mr. WHITESIDE complained of unnecessary publicity of intentions. Sebastopol was not taken because it could not be invested. He complained of the want of cavalry:

"He would call attention to a passage he had lately read in the history of the partition of Poland. The historian described Russia and Prussia as being about to divide the spoils, when, at that moment, Austria interposed and obtained possession of all she wanted without striking a blow or spending a florin, and it was not unlikely that she might do the same thing again."

After some similar remarks from Sir J. THOLLOPE, the house adjourned.

In the House of Lords on Thursday, the Duke of RICHMOND presented a petition from the borough of Wakefield, urging the Government to use every effort to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination. The noble Duke also seized the opportunity to recommend the Government to issue some mark of distinction to the troops engaged in the Crimea.

#### FOREIGN ENLISTMENT.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE, in proposing the second reading of the Bill for the Enlistment of Foreigners in the British Army, remarked that the plan had on former occasions been adopted, and with success.

"Your lordships are probably aware that until the year 1837, except under the provisions of a special Act of Parliament, it was unlawful to enlist foreign soldiers in English regiments. We do not purpose to violate that law on the present occasion. By the act of 1837, permission was given to the limited extent of admitting one foreigner to every fifty men in each regiment; and so the law now stands, and so we purpose to leave it. We purpose that any foreign troops which shall be raised shall be formed in separate battalions apart from the Queen's regiments. Your lordships may perhaps desire to know from what countries we expect to raise our forces. I do not think it desirable under the circumstances—no communication having been made to foreign governments—to mention whence these troops are likely to come, but your lordships will be aware of

certain districts of Germany and Switzerland and other countries which are most likely to furnish troops to enlist in the Queen's service. In the late war the greatest body of foreign troops who served us in those campaigns was the German Legion, and from 1807 to the battle of Waterloo, in 1815, there was scarcely a siege or battle of any importance in which it did not take part. We have thought that in the present aspect of affairs it is desirable to take a considerable number, and we purpose to limit the number to be drilled and trained in this country at any one time to 15,000 men."

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH—"When the noble duke first announced the intention of the Government to introduce a bill of this nature on the first day of the session, my impression was that the Government intended to raise a complete force, and that all they wanted was the authority of Parliament to retain in this country the dépôts of two or three corps—an object for which the intervention of Parliament would be absolutely necessary. I confess I felt the greatest possible repugnance to even the qualified admission of two or three dépôts of foreign troops to be permitted to remain in this country; but when I read this bill this morning I was completely astonished; for, taking this bill in connexion with the bill brought into the other House to enable her Majesty to accept the services of certain regiments of militia for the declared purpose of garrisoning fortresses in the Mediterranean, the practical object of this measure is to substitute in this country 15,000 foreigners for 15,000 British militiamen who are to be employed abroad." After arguing that the circumstances of the last war were very different from those of the present, he said:

"It is understood that the majority—the influential majority of the Government now in office represent the feelings, the principles, and the opinions of Sir R. Peel—that the mantle of Elijah has descended upon my noble friend now at the head of the Government. (Laughter.) I will not pretend that my opportunities of intercourse with Sir R. Peel were at all to be compared with those of my noble friend; but I think I may assume that I am tolerably well acquainted with the character of his mind and with the general view which he took of public affairs, and I say with the most perfect confidence that to this measure he never would have assented. I am satisfied of that, because I know that, having been for a great length of time Home Secretary in this country, he would primarily have looked to the extreme inconvenience, the extreme difficulty, the extreme danger which would have arisen had 15,000 foreign troops, or any portion of them, been on any occasion called out—as they must have been—for the purpose of preserving the peace among the people of England: My lords, we have to prevent riots at elections; we cannot prevent disputes between masters and workmen, but they frequently render necessary the intervention of troops. In every case that would happen, and depend upon it, if such an unfortunate occasion should arise, the result would be that the Government would be called upon and compelled to assent to the extradition of the foreign troops from this country. One of the advantages of the war to which I have always looked forward as compensating in a great measure for many of the sufferings which the people must endure during its continuance was this—that when peace returns we might have distributed through the country, as officers and as retired soldiers, a vast number of persons accustomed to war—men of military habits, who, during any lengthened periods of peace, would constitute the great source of the security of the country. . . . We have been told—and I think a somewhat exaggerated view has been taken of the subject—that there has been a very great improvement in the moral condition and character of her Majesty's troops. Now, my lords, considering that the troops have been acting in a desert where there is no population, where there is no property belonging to anybody, and that the only persons with whom they can by possibility have communicated were their own comrades, I do not think, up to this moment, that any very material argument can be drawn from that circumstance. But I will assume all the advantages which are understood to be derived from the good conduct of the troops, and I ask, what security have you for the conduct of German recruits? Does the recruiting sergeant look to any moral qualifications? No; he only regards the physical qualifications of his recruits."

The noble lord concluded by urging what he had urged nine months ago, that a numerous police force should be established as the best basis of a valuable army, and which suggestion had been disregarded.

The Duke of RICHMOND paid a high tribute to the behaviour of the German Legion during the last war.

The Earl of DENBY thought this was a measure dangerous both in principle and policy.

"The noble duke who introduced it had passed lightly over the constitutional objections to such a scheme, and seemed to have forgotten that, on former occasions when such foreign forces were employed, England and Hanover were united under one sovereign, and that those Hanoverians were not foreigners. It was very desirable that the House should be informed whence these mercenaries were to come. Were they to be Poles, for in

that case the force employed would have a common interest in the struggle? He thought, too, that such a proposition was a very humiliating confession for England to make, and that it was the greatest encouragement that could be given to the Emperor of Russia. He could not help coupling this scheme with the bill for sending the militia out of the country, though that measure was not yet before the House. If foreigners were required, let them be enlisted for foreign service, but do not say that we were forced, at this early stage of the war, to employ them at home. A British Minister should have blushed to make such a proposition, and he trusted that the House would refuse to sanction the bill.

The Earl of ABERDEEN then rose, and said:

"My Lords, this bill is one of the first measures which have been introduced by her Majesty's Government this session as an evidence of their intention to carry on the war with determination and vigour, but the manner in which it has been received is, I must say, not very consistent with those exhortations we have heard from noble lords opposite to follow such a course. The noble earl who has spoken last, in his representations of this bill, has given a description of the measure in which I think he will hardly feel justified. He talks of this being a measure in which we are reduced to keep our own people in order, and he talks of the militia being 'dragged' into foreign service. The object of this bill is to introduce into this country for a limited time, for the purpose of drill, and for drill only, a sufficient number of foreign troops, and, as soon as they are in a condition to be employed in our service, then they are to be sent to the seat of war. That surely is not the same thing as maintaining a foreign garrison in this country. The presence of these troops here is merely for a temporary purpose: they will be limited as regards number, and they will be limited also as regards time, until they are fit to be employed upon foreign service. The whole representations of noble lords opposite appears to me to rest on a fallacy. They suppose that this is a force to be raised and employed in lieu of the militia. Now, that is not the case. Undoubtedly, we take the voluntary offers of such a militia force as may be necessary to liberate our garrisons, which are indispensable (however reduced they may be, and very much reduced they are) for the occupation of our important possessions in the Mediterranean. For these garrisons we accept the voluntary offers, and only the voluntary offers (they will not be 'dragged' into the service, as the noble earl opposite said) of such militia regiments as it may be thought fit to employ for this garrison duty; and by releasing the regular regiments hitherto stationed there, we thereby obtain at once a valuable reinforcement of veteran troops for active service in the East, not at all interfering with the future recruiting of the army from the sources of the militia force at home. This measure is in fact requisite for the purpose of enabling the Government to make what we consider to be a necessary addition to our effective force. You may have volunteers from the militia in a greater or smaller degree, but all this will require time, and such volunteers cannot be made available in the same manner and to the same extent as troops raised upon the principle of this bill. I cannot at all admit the accuracy of the description which refers to the employment of this force at home, where it will not be employed at all, and still less, at this time of day, can I regard it as subject to a serious constitutional objection, that we should raise such a force under the circumstances which I have described, having them in this country merely for the purpose of being drilled before they are sent out upon foreign service. I say I cannot think that there is any good ground for the opposition which the noble earl opposite has so unexpectedly raised to this, the first measure designed by her Majesty's Government in order to carry on the war with vigour. This measure, intended to accomplish such an object, has, I must say, been but ill-received by noble lords opposite, although they do profess such extreme anxiety and impatience that her Majesty's Government should exert every means for vigorously prosecuting the war."

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH reminded the Earl of Aberdeen that this introduction of foreign mercenaries was what had rendered the Earl of Chatham's administration odious to the nation.

The Earl of MALMESBURY, while disclaiming any wish to throw impediments in the way of the Government, thought that the Government were bound to show more respect for the opinions expressed by those who felt bound to differ from them. He certainly was rather surprised that such a measure should have been introduced so early in the war.

After some observations from the Duke of ARGYLL, who defended the bill because the war might be called a European rather than a national struggle,

Lord GREY said that though he regarded the raising of such a foreign force with jealousy, it appeared desirable to augment the military force of the country as speedily as possible, and for that reason he thought the measure might be justified. In saying this he reserved to himself the full right to express his opinions freely on this as well as the Militia Bill.

After some observations from the Earl of GLEN-GALL,

The Duke of Newcastle complained of the interpretations put upon the bill.

"Why did the noble earl say that these two measures were connected? Why, to persuade the public that the Government were about to embody a foreign force in this country—not to carry on a war in which they were interested with a foreign nation, but to suppress domestic tumults here; that their object was, by the bill before the other House, to obtain power to send the militia out of the country, and then, by the present bill, to raise troops of foreign mercenaries to supply the place of the militia and suppress domestic tumults. Did the noble earl believe that that was the intention of the Government. It was impossible that he could do so. Such statements might be fair under other circumstances, and at other times, for party purposes; but they were not fair towards the country at a moment like this for the purpose of creating a prejudice against an important measure."

With respect to the Police suggestion, he reminded the noble earl that a measure on the subject had been brought into the House of Commons, but in consequence of the great opposition which was raised to it by the county members, it had eventually dropped.

As to the suggestion that the whole of the militia should have been embodied at the commencement of the war, Government had no power to do so.

"Up to the time of additional encouragement being given to militia recruiting, the volunteers from some 18 or 20 militia regiments had not exceeded 4000 or 5000 men. Now, however, that the spirit of the country was roused, a different feeling existed, and they might expect to obtain from the militia regiments a very great number of recruits. The noble earl talked about embodying the whole of the militia regiments. Would he be so good as to inform him where the barrack accommodation was to be found at this moment for such a force? He did not say that they might not be justified in embodying the militia regiments and billeting them; but that was not the way to make militia regiments effective, for they could never become so efficient in billet as in barracks. The House should bear these things in mind, not for the sake of the Government, but for the sake of the country and for the sake of the efficiency of the army."

The bill was then read a second time.

#### BUSINESS OF THE SESSION.

In the House of Commons on Thursday, in reply to a question of Mr. HADFIELD,

Lord J. Russell said:—"It is not a very convenient course, when asking whether a bill is to be brought in upon any subject, to make an inquiry as to the contents of that bill, but I think more particularly at the present moment—and in this I hope the House will agree with me—it would be better that the Government should have time to consider what measures they will bring in in the course of the session after the Christmas recess, and that we should not state until after that period the measures which it is proposed to introduce, nor the various questions which will have to be considered. Unless it is perfectly certain that a particular bill is to be introduced, it is hardly the proper time to state the nature of the measure."

Later in the evening, in reply to questions from Mr. DISRAELI,

Lord J. Russell said that the Government intended to bring forward only two bills before adjourning for the recess, one the Militia Bill, already before the House; the other to enable her Majesty to employ foreign troops, which latter would be introduced in the House of Lords. He hoped they would be enabled to adjourn on Thursday next.

#### AUSTRIAN TREATY.

In reply to Mr. MILNES, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said—"In answer to the question I have to say that the documents for the ratification of the treaty with Austria were sent some days ago from London to Vienna, and we had hoped to have received, through the telegraph, intelligence of the ratification either yesterday or to-day, but I do not think any information of the kind has been received. Without, however, waiting for the formal documents, immediately intelligence has been received of the ratification of the treaty it will be laid upon the table."

#### LIMITED LIABILITY OF PARTNERSHIP.

In reply to a question by Mr. WILKINSON, Mr. CARDWELL said that a bill had been prepared by the Government on the subject of the limited liability of partnership, and would be introduced in the present session.

#### NOTICES OF MOTION.

Major BERESFORD has given notice of his intention to move for leave to bring in a bill to relieve the estates of officers and others falling during the campaign from payment to the succession duty.

Mr. W. WILLIAMS has given notice of a motion relative to the probate duty.

Mr. EWART gave notice that on Tuesday he should move for leave to bring in a bill for further extending the formation of public libraries.

#### SISTERS OF MERCY AT DUBLIN.

Sir J. YOUNG, in reply to Mr. Higgins and Mr. V. Scully, explained that the Sisters of Mercy went to the Dublin Hospitals as spiritual advisers and not as nurses. The sisters were excluded to prevent complaints, and the patients' beds were labelled "Protestant" or "Roman Catholic," as the case might be, to prevent mistakes.

#### IRISH TENANT RIGHT.

Mr. V. SCULLY asked what course her Majesty's Government intend to take, during the present session, in reference to the Tenants' Compensation Bill, and other Irish land bills?

Lord J. RUSSELL declined to pledge himself at present as to what measures the Government would introduce in the course of the session.

#### NEWSPAPER STAMPS.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON recommenced on Thursday his efforts to get rid of taxes on knowledge. He stated the new evil that had arisen with the unstamped war papers.

Mr. GLADSTONE said,

"What I have to say in answer to the question of the right honourable gentleman shall be said in a very few words. The Government feel as strongly as the right honourable gentleman can urge the obligation incumbent upon them in consequence of a resolution which without a division was adopted by the House during the summer. A pledge was given by the Government, before the close of the session, that the subject, which is one of considerable difficulty in detail, should have their best consideration. They have done their best to redeem that pledge, and have likewise thought it to be their duty to avail themselves of the powers conferred on them by the present law for the purpose of preventing infractions and violations of that law, which were likely to interfere with the collection of the revenue. I do not understand the right honourable gentleman to object to the steps that have been taken, but that he merely refers to them as illustrative of the disadvantages and inconveniences attending the present state of things. There is no dispute between us regarding those disadvantages and inconveniences, and we are endeavouring to frame a measure to meet them in the best way we can. The right honourable gentleman thinks that measure should be introduced at the present moment; but in that view of the right hon. gentleman we are not prepared to concur. It is very true that Parliament has met for the performance of certain business, but it is not the intention of the Government to press upon the consideration of the House any measure of importance, with the exception of two measures, to which my noble friend has referred. It is obvious, with regard to a question of this kind, that we should not lay a bill upon the table of the House until we have the prospect of being able to pass that bill through its stages, and take the definite judgment of the House upon it. Our opinion is, that we could not do justice to any such bill at this moment. The time the House is likely to sit will not enable us to pass the bill under any circumstances we can contemplate as probable; and it would be inconvenient to introduce the bill and leave it for consideration until after the recess, when Parliament shall meet after Christmas. I can assure the right honourable gentlemen that, so far as the Government is concerned, they will expect even from him an admission that they have done their best to redeem the pledge they have given."

#### MR. DISRAELI AND THE PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION.

THE new champion has sent the following answer to the committee. It was immediately adopted, as being what they had thought from the first:—

"Hugbenden Manor, Dec. 6, 1854.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, enclosing a resolution passed at a general meeting of the Protestants of Dublin, and forwarded to me at their request. The sentiments of a numerous, enlightened, and loyal body of her Majesty's subjects, on matters of grave importance, offered to my attention in so special a manner, are entitled to respectful and earnest consideration, and shall receive it. Although, in my opinion, the enduring greatness of this country is involved in the maintenance of Protestant principles, I am far from believing that such a policy is dependant upon penal legislation. What we want is, that the principles and practice of the constitution should be placed more in harmony, and that there should be an end to that ambiguous language and equivocal conduct which have existed of late years on the part of the Government, which appears to have done much mischief and no good; which have excited, instead of allaying, religious animosity; and which have terminated in producing anarchy in the Church and feebleness in the State.—I beg leave to remain, sir, your faithful servant,

"T. H. Thompson, Esq."

[A slight transposition of sentences would, at all events, have made this elegant epistle grammatical.]

## THE WAR.

THE war intelligence this week is composed entirely of telegraphic despatches. No important blow has been struck, but it will be seen that some arrangements were contemplated for December 2.

"Marseilles, Saturday.

"The Russian fire against the French position was very violent, but fresh guns were being disembarked, and quantities of ammunition.

"The Russians made incessant sorties, but the French repulsed them all, and were advancing."

"It is positively asserted that at a Council of War held on the 28th ult. General Canrobert had decided that a great battle should be fought on the 2nd of December. The army was full of enthusiasm."

"The fire of the batteries against Sebastopol had been resumed with vigour, the last parallel had been finished, and the works had reached within a hundred metres of the place."

"A general assault was considered as very near."

"On the 23rd, after a sudden attack, the English surprised and spiked 16 Russian guns."

The French Minister of War has received the following despatch from the General-in-Chief of the army of the East:—

"Before Sebastopol, Nov. 25.

"The weather has decidedly set in for rain, which interferes greatly with every description of conveyance and with our operations before the place. Nevertheless, the construction of our new batteries and the modifications which we are making in our old ones proceed rapidly enough. It is not cold, and the Russian army must suffer more than we do from the rain. The bringing up of its supplies by roads, which has become very difficult, is a work of great labour. We, on the contrary, are largely provided. The fleet is in safe shelter."

The following are from Bucharest:—"December 8.—The entire Turkish army is recrossing the Danube. It will leave garrison at Kalarasch and Giurgevo. Thirty-five thousand Turks are to embark for the Crimea. Omar Pacha is expected at Varna on the 11th. Sadyk Pacha's corps will occupy the Dobruedcha. There is no news from Sebastopol."

"December 11.—Omar Pacha left this morning for Varna, where active preparations are being made for embarking the remainder of the nineteen Turkish battalions, part of which force has already left for the Crimea. The Europa steamer, which left Sebastopol on the 7th, announces the arrival of four English regiments, and numerous French reinforcements. A very considerable movement has been observed between the town and the north side of the bay. The investment of the place is almost complete. The new siege guns landed from the fleets were not yet in position."

By way of Berlin we receive the following, dated St. Petersburg, the 10th inst.:—"Prince Menschikoff announces that on the 4th of December nothing new had occurred before Sebastopol, except some trifling sorties on our (the Russian) side, without success."

The *Moniteur* of Thursday publishes the following:—

"Bucharest, Dec. 11.

"By the arrival at Varna of the Europa we have news from Sebastopol of the 7th.

"A great movement of the enemy between the town and the north of the bay was observable. The investment of the place was nearly complete. Four French regiments and numerous reinforcements had arrived. The new siege guns from the allied fleets had not been got into position."

#### OVER-ESTIMATION OF ALLIED POWER.

A "special" correspondent of the *Daily News* has the following remarks which will teach us to "know our place"—and improve it:—

"There is no advantage to be gained in disguising the fact that the Russian gunnery is excellent. They work the guns quickly—manage to make metal of the same weight throw their shot further than we do, and aim with great precision. They depress and elevate more fully and easily, and many things that our artillerymen will tell you cannot be done, or rather are not done, at Woolwich, it is very evident the Russians are able to do at Sebastopol. Their earthwork batteries, which we thought lightly of, and permitted to be thrown up without any attempt at interruption, are at this moment apparently as firm and as good in every respect as our own. Some of these were not commenced on our arrival, and we could easily have annoyed, and in a great degree prevented their construction by the use of one or two guns. But it was apparently calculated—over confidently—that the grand crash from all the guns opening at once, and the effect of their fire, would have produced as depressing an effect on the courage and endurance of the Russian garrison as it was hoped it



would physically on the batteries and fortifications. In regretting that this course was adopted, it cannot be forgotten that these remarks are biased by the knowledge that it in a great measure proved a failure; but it does still appear that a more correct judgment ought to have been formed *a priori* by our engineers as to the power of resistance of the Russian earthworks against our artillery. Before the fire from the English batteries commenced it was constantly remarked that the works which were so industriously thrown up before our eyes around the Round Tower would disappear immediately after our guns opened; but the fact is, the guns in the mud batteries there have never once been really silenced, and now, our fire having been in a great degree withdrawn from it for some time past, the embrasures have been made nearly as perfect as they ever were, and are fitted for the reception of guns at any moment, if they are not there already. So with the other earth batteries opposed to ours. It is not so on the left; there the most advanced battery of the Russians has been silenced. This has happened because, from the nature of the ground, the French have been enabled to make regular approaches, and therefore were certain of eventually silencing the work. But, even at this point, the Russians have thrown up a retrenchment, which is nearly as destructive to the French works as the former battery."

#### Russians in the Allied Hospitals.

"The hospitals at Balaklava are sadly crowded with wounded Russians, who evince a decided ingratitude to their medical attendants. No sooner are their wounds dressed, and the surgeon has turned his back, than the bandages are removed by the patients and thrown upon the ground. I cannot explain this extraordinary conduct, which must be prompted by some fanatic prejudices, inspired by their leaders. Hospital gangrene has consequently set in with great virulence, and the poor fellows are dying rapidly. The medical superintendence of the wounded prisoners is in the hands of Dr. Franklin, a most efficient and energetic officer. Too much praise cannot be awarded to Dr. Tyce and his staff of hard-worked assistants for the zeal displayed by them in Balaklava."—*Daily News*.

#### NEW PROJECTILES.

Mr. Lancaster, the inventor of the long-range gun, has been in Wolverhampton and other places representing the Admiralty; and in consequence of his visit, Messrs. Thornycroft and Co., of the Shrubbery and Bradley Works, have undertaken to supply the Government, in a short time, with a large quantity of iron plates, of a peculiar shape, and very difficult to manufacture. The firm referred to manifested considerable public spirit in the readiness with which they accepted the order, as its execution will, they are informed, involve expensive alterations in a considerable portion of their machinery, with only trifling pecuniary advantages. The plates will eventually be formed into projectiles of a novel description.—*Staffordshire Advertiser*.

#### NEW CANNON.

The new cannon invented by Dr. Church, and patented by that gentleman in connexion with Mr. Goddard, is now undergoing a trial at one of the Government depôts, with a view to its being brought into immediate use if found to answer the purpose for which it is intended. The principal feature in the invention consists in the capability of the gun to discharge 300 balls continuously in an almost incredibly short space of time, an advantage which cannot be overrated should the war continue.—*Birmingham Gazette*.

#### THE STORM IN THE BLACK SEA.

A correspondent of the *Daily News* explaining that the hurricane was really of some good, tells us how the inhabitants of Sebastopol fared:—

"The hurricane has done some good. Though Lord Raglan has not yet thought proper to announce his intention of wintering in the Crimea, the men and officers understand now that we must remain. They have at once commenced hutting; and as wood is not to be had, they make huts of the stones, large and small, that cover the plain of Sebastopol.

"Another good effect of the gale is the damage it did to our enemies. Deserters tell us that the destruction in Sebastopol is terrible. A great many public buildings were unroofed; houses that had been fired by our shells fell in and buried hundreds among the ruins. Sebastopol, the deserters say, is a perfect hell, and the sooner we get in the better. We thank them for the compliment, and agree with them as to the desirability of our getting in. But with a Russian army in our rear and three positions to guard, the thing is easier said than done. Still it must be done, and it will be done, and the reinforcements which are now arriving will enable us to do it."

#### THE AUSTRIANS IN THE PRINCIPALITIES.

A "special" correspondent of the *Daily News*, in Wallachia, gives a painful account of the atrocities committed by the Austrian army of occupation. He then describes the state of feeling throughout the country in the following manner:—

"These are but a portion of the outrages which these missionaries of peace have committed within a single

week. I have taken them at random from a mass, and have extenuated nothing and set nothing down in malice. I guarantee the authenticity of every single fact I have recounted. It is an easy matter enough to tell you thus in detail what the people suffer; but I could never give you a correct idea of what the people feel. A Wallachian lady informed me seriously, two days ago, with horror depicted on her face, that the Austrians had seized upon two children, boiled one, roasted the other, and passed the night in an orgie in which this horrid repast was the leading incident. So firmly was she persuaded of the truth of her story, that she appeared greatly offended when I expressed my doubts regarding it. I have the best reasons for knowing that it is without the smallest foundation, but it is not a little remarkable as an index of the popular notions regarding the demeanour and ferocity of the soldiers of Francis Joseph. There is not a family in the town that is not suffering cruel inconvenience—that is not exposed daily to insults that make the blood of a freeman boil at hearing them recounted. Several cases have occurred in which families have implored the quarter commission to give them one or two of the few English and French sappers who are here to deliver them from the presence of the men who have been poured upon the Principalities as if they were a legitimate prey, and who see in every citizen an Italian of Milan or Venice.

"The universal feeling amongst the Wallachians is one of deep disappointment at the conduct of the Western Powers. When the Turks crossed the Danube last August, and it was known that an English and French army were acting in conjunction with them, every one expected that the whole *régime*—the alternate triumphs of Russian protection and Turkish protection, of Russian influence and Turkish influence—was at an end for ever; that the Government would be reorganised upon a totally new footing, which, seeing that France and England, owing to their position, could have no selfish interest in the matter, would leave Wallachia complete liberty of action, enable the liberal and patriotic party to gain the ascendant, carry out their plans for the material improvement of the country, and put it on the fair way to wealth and influence; for it must be remembered that Wallachia is capable of maintaining with ease four times her present population, and could in that case, without creating any sensible financial burden, support an army of at least 100,000 men. When the only result of the Russian retreat was an Austrian occupation, Turkey, France, and England lost in one month an amount of influence which, without the presence of a single soldier, would have lasted here in the hearts of the people for many a year to come. It is of no use to employ against the Wallachians the arguments by which the enemies of Russia justify the war we are now carrying on against her; it is of no use to point out the danger of her becoming dominant in the Mediterranean, of gaining such a footing in the west as would enable her to strike a fatal blow at European liberty, and reduce every continental unborn to the same level of brutality and rascality as her own subjects. These are dangers that may loom awfully in the future at Paris or London, but which have no terror for Wallachians. They look, and pardonably—nay, praiseworthy—to their own immediate and pressing wants. If they are to be protected they prefer being protected by France and England, because these two powers would have no interest in driving them hither and thither, and in repressing in them every sentiment of independence and nationality, and would, they know well, be glad to see their country grow and flourish, and scorn the yoke of either Sultan or Emperor. But if England and France withdraw from the matter, and leave them to choose between Turkey, Russia, or Austria, the youth, and the liberal and honest party amongst the old boyards, would declare for Turkey; the Greeks, the religious or fanatical party amongst the Wallachs, would declare for Russia; but one and all would cry out against Austria as the very 'abomination of desolation.' I am firmly persuaded that not a man in Bucharest, except a German colonist, would have the hardihood to contradict what I now state; and even the German colony is composed in the main of those whose detestation of the Austrian government is cordial and concentrated, but who, having also no liking for the Wallachians, are rather gratified than otherwise to see them lorded over by their countrymen."

#### DISMAY IN SEBASTOPOL.

The *Morning Chronicle* correspondent says:—

"A Polish officer gave himself up as a deserter a few days since, and reports that the Russians have had 25,000 men placed *hors de combat* since the battle of Inkerman, and that they cannot make out why we have not stormed the town. It is said that a Russian doctor came over to the French on the same day, and stated that they were in a sad way from the want of medical men, and that some of the wounded on the 5th had not even then had their wounds dressed. It is also reported that General Lüders, with a reinforcement of 12,000 men, had arrived. I forgot to mention that the Pole said that they never could get the Russians to advance upon us again as they did on the 5th; there is no doubt that they were half drunk, like as they were on their first attack on the 26th of October. An officer told me that he saw a Russian fall down on the 5th from sheer drunkenness."

#### COMFORT IN THE FRENCH ARMY.

A French naval officer, writing home, proves that soldiers' clothing is ordered very much better in France:—

"Never has an army been so wonderfully provided with everything it requires; the soldiers enjoy abundance. Every one admits that a generous and attentive solicitude watches over the army and foresees all its wants. The soldiers receive tents, sheepskin cloaks, and rations of wine and brandy; provisions are abundant, and the supply is secured by the most certain and extensive arrangements. Ten large English steamers have just been taken up for the exclusive purpose of bringing provisions of every kind. It may be seen that the Emperor does not hesitate at any sacrifice for the welfare of the soldiers, and these brave men are deeply sensible of it. 'Look,' said a trooper to me, showing me at the same time his warm sheepskin cloak, 'they think of us in France.' With this system our army will realise great things; the Emperor will see what can be done by those soldiers whom he knows how to keep so gay, so confident, and in such good health."

#### RUSSIAN LOSSES AT SEA.

A communication from Warsaw affirms that Prince Menschikoff, in an unpublished portion of his despatch of the 14th ult., states that near Cape Berdjanskaia (on the north coast of the Sea of Azoff) a hurricane had literally demolished the breakwater, driven on shore thirty-five Russian vessels, and dashed to pieces five others.

A letter from Odessa, addressed to a merchant at Cracow, states that the tempest of the 14th ult. occasioned considerable damage to Russian shipping. Thirty-five merchant vessels, with valuable cargoes on board, were driven on shore in the port of Berdjansk, in the Sea of Azoff. Five of them were lost. The port itself was much injured; some of the piers were washed away, and the town was almost inundated.

#### SIR DE LACY EVANS.

The following letter has been addressed to Lady Evans by the Duke of Newcastle:—

"Downing-street, Nov. 22.

"Madam—I trust you will not consider me intrusive or impertinent, but I cannot resist the temptation of congratulating you from my heart upon the record of this day's *Gazette* on an act of the truest heroism and finest chivalry on the part of Sir De Lacy Evans.

"All know him to be a gallant soldier, but I know nothing more noble in the records of war than a veteran general rising from his bed of sickness at the sound of a battle, hurrying to his troops, and, instead of claiming his right to command them, resolved not to supersede the junior who was winning the laurels of the day, but remaining at his side, aiding him with his advice, and assisting him as if he were his aide-de-camp.

"God grant him a safe return in good time!

"I have the honour to be, madam,

"Your very obedient servant,

"NEWCASTLE."

#### INCIDENTS.

MEDALS.—A medal will be promptly issued to the troops serving in the Crimea. The medal will be given to all those who have been in any part of the present campaign. A clasp will be added for the Alma and one for Inkerman. The regiments engaged are to have on their colours and appointments the words "Crimea," "Alma," and "Inkerman."

SOMETHING NOT FAIR IN WAR.—Some Scripture readers who went to Scutari to read the Bible to the wounded soldiers, have been prohibited from continuing their visits because they have also distributed polemical tracts. Fair play for Protestants and Catholics is insisted on.

ENGLISHMEN AND AMERICANS IN RUSSIA.—The following is to the Editor of the *Times* from "A late Resident in Russia":—"Sir,—Mr. Baird's iron-foundry is in full work again. He has contracted for five screw engines, four of 300, and one of 400 horse-power, and actually received a *ro. 300-m.* (50,000*l.*) in advance, without depositing any guarantee—an unusual thing with Government contracts. The Americans (the same who had so much to do with the Moscow Railway) are building a great many gunboats (screws), and Colonel Colt has been, or is here still, with his machinery to make revolvers."

POSTAGE-STAMPS FOR THE TROOPS.—Mr. Needham, of Alfreton, Derbyshire, hearing that postage-stamps were difficult to obtain, has sent twenty shillings' worth to the commanding officers of fifty different regiments and divisions for distribution amongst the men.

THE WAR GETTING MORE EASTERLY.—An envoy from Kohan, and one from Dost Mohamed, have asked for assistance from the British Government against the Russians. The Afghan chief has decided on an English in preference to a Russo-Persian alliance.

CHRISTMAS IN THE CRIMEA.—The ladies of Northallerton and Newcastle, besides a very liberal supply of flannel-shirts and other necessities, have contributed no less than 40 plum-puddings.

**THE TRUNK LINE FROM BALAKLAVA TO THE CAMP.**—The rails required for the Balaklava railway were furnished by the Eastern Counties Railway Company. The line is intended to commence at the harbour of Balaklava, and pass along the valley to the intrenchments of the Allies before Sebastopol. The gradients will be of an ascending character from the harbour to the position occupied by the British troops.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

**THE FRENCH IN ROME.**—The *Moniteur* says:—"Several foreign journals have announced that the government of the Emperor had decided on recalling the army of occupation now in the Papal States. This assertion is incorrect. The Pontifical Government is successfully engaged in the reorganization of its army; and in order to make place for the Roman troops, the effective strength of ours may perhaps be gradually reduced. Our soldiers, however, will not abandon the garrisons of Rome and Civita Vecchia until the government of the Emperor, as well as that of the Holy See, shall be satisfied that their departure will not endanger public tranquillity."

#### ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

**MARYLEBONE.**—The election is to take place on Monday. Lord Ebrington, at a meeting, said:—"He was opposed to Sturges Bourne's Act, but believed that Hobhouse's Act required revision. As to the appointment of public officers, it was his opinion that those over them, being in power for only one year, should not have the power to dismiss without just cause. He was most certainly not inclined to throw open the trade in intoxicating drinks to all those who desire it. His reason was, that in Scotland the free sale of intoxicating liquors had a most demoralising effect upon the wives and daughters."

On Friday a meeting of Mr. Bell's friends, especially of gentlemen distinguished in the fine arts, was held at Blagrove's Concert Room. Letters were read from Sir Edwin Landseer, T. Uwins, Esq., R.A., D. Maclean, Esq., R.A., and other gentlemen, expressing regret at unavoidable absence, but cordially concurring in the objects of the meeting. On the motion of J. T. Willmore, Esq., R.A., seconded by Frank Stone, Esq., R.A., it was resolved that—"The meeting feeling that Mr. Jacob Bell's exposition of his politics is most satisfactory, and further that he will advance the cause of the fine arts, was determined to support him in the forthcoming election for Marylebone."

Mr. Bell has pledged himself to support Mr. H. Berkeley's annual motion for the ballot.

Sir Charles Napier has also consented to be nominated for this borough. In the telegraphic despatch he announces his political creed thus:—"War to the knife with Russia—extensive reform—vote by ballot—shorter Parliaments—and general education." However, the popular rumour is that Government has prohibited him standing unless he gives up the command of the Baltic fleet.

**LIMERICK.**—Captain Dickson has withdrawn, and a new candidate, Mr. Barrington, will, it is said, retire. The field is therefore left clear for Mr. De Vere, who says:—"As an Irishman I feel that a crisis is at hand, in which all that is most important to my country is at stake. I trust that I shall be found equal to the emergency. The welfare of Ireland depends upon sustaining the great principles of religious liberty, social progress, and justice to all classes of the community. My conduct upon previous occasions, when the sanctity of religious liberty has been invaded, affords the best guarantee for my future exertions. I am a sincere advocate of free-trade principles. I shall labour to secure to the holders of land, by a comprehensive measure of tenant right, the fullest enjoyment of the fruits of their industry and capital. I shall endeavour to secure to our noble soldiers and sailors all those religious consolations which they so greatly need. I shall devote myself assiduously to the local interests of your county; and no personal considerations, no external influence, shall ever divert me from that course of independent action which I shall feel to be required by my country at my hands."

**EAST GLOUCESTERSHIRE.**—No reply has yet been received from Mr. Holford, who has been solicited by the Conservatives to come forward for the vacant seat, and who is still upon the Continent; but an address has been put forward by Mr. J. Curtis Hayward, the chairman of the Conservative committee, in which he says, Mr. Holford's "high character, and his well-known principles, are a sufficient guarantee to the electors of the division that he would most satisfactorily represent them in Parliament." The Hon. Grantley Berkeley has also addressed the electors, promising to go to the poll, on the supposition that the electors wish to return "a representative who will be firm to Lord Derby, or any other Minister whose measures will mete to every class in her Majesty's dominions a fair share of those blessings, which are not blessings unless shared in universally."

**ABRINGTON.**—This election presents the singular anomaly of two Liberals contesting the seat—Major Reed, of the Army and Navy Club, and Mr. J. T. Norris, of the Sutton-Courtney paper-mills, and Common Councilman of the City of London. The Conservatives have shown no disposition to enter the field, the reason assigned being that, for the short period which must necessarily intervene before a general election, they were not willing to disturb the constituency.

#### RAILWAYS IN INDIA.

We learn from the City article of the *Times* that "The prospectus is issued of the Scinde Railway Company, with a capital of 750,000l. sterling, in shares of 20l. each, the deposit being 2s. per share. The directors, who consist chiefly of known Indian names, state that they have every assurance of obtaining from the East India Company a guarantee of 5 per cent. per annum, as a minimum interest upon the capital of the company for ninety-nine years. The object is the introduction of railways into the province of Scinde, commencing at the port of Kurrahee and proceeding to a point on the Indus in the vicinity of Hyderabad. The line will be about 110 miles in length, and will place the only seaport of Scinde in communication with the great commercial river of our north-west frontier, effecting a saving of 125 to 130 miles of navigation, so difficult that Major Preedy, the collector of Lower Scinde, has stated that 'if one or two boats only, out of a batch of six or so, were lost, it is considered a good venture.' As an illustration of the injury caused by the high cost of carriage in that region, it was mentioned that the price of grain at Shirkapore and Hyderabad is just half its price at Kurrahee, the difficulty of the navigation of the Indus rendering attempts to bring down grain as an export very hazardous. The project, as may be inferred from the foregoing remarks, enjoys the unanimous support of the Indian authorities, both at home and abroad."

#### BRITISH PROSPERITY IN INDIA.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Daily News* writes the following, addressed to the President of the Board of Control:—

"As the responsible Minister of the Crown for India, I beg to call your special attention to an item of intelligence which has just been received from that country."

"The seizure by the British authorities of the late Raja of Nagpore's private property, whether in cattle, cash, or jewels—and the latter were of immense value—to the detriment of his widows and other near relations, which has been done to an enormous amount by the acting commissioner, appears to us to be one of the most enormous wrongs ever yet committed by the East India Company. The sale went off very quietly. This was ensured by the presence of additional troops at Setabuddee."

"Allow me now, sir, to remind you that in the year 1826 the British Government entered into a treaty of 'perpetual friendship and alliance' with the late sovereign of Nagpore, 'his heirs and successors,' by one article of which he ceded to the British Government a portion of his dominions for ever, while the British Government on its part 'guarantees the rest of his dominions to himself, his heirs, and successors.' That sovereign, by name Ragoonjee Bhoondah, died in 1853, when, in fulfilment of this pledge of 'perpetual friendship,' and of its solemn 'guarantee to him,' his heirs, and 'successors,' the British Government confiscated their territorial inheritance, and it has now seized and sold their personal property, including jewels to an immense amount, by auction at the point of the bayonet."

#### RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

A VERY serious collision has "occurred" at the Bescott junction of the North-Western and South Staffordshire Railway, near Birmingham. On certain occasions it is necessary to "shunt" one train into a siding; and this being done, it is considered safe. On this occasion, however, the pointman, or policeman, whose duty it is to see that the block by which a shunted train is prevented from encroaching upon the main line was turned, neglected to make himself acquainted with the exact position of the waggons. The block was not turned, and one of the waggons projected from the siding into the main line, within two feet of the rails. The passenger train, which was not due to stop at the Bescott station, on arriving at these points caught the projecting waggon, and the collision ensued. It is scarcely possible to describe the destructive effects of the shock. The waggon when struck appears to have swung round, and smashed the carriages which more immediately followed the engine and tender. The side of one first-class carriage was completely smashed in, a second-class carriage was half demolished, and two third-class were still more completely wrecked. One may be said to have been entirely destroyed. It was driven from the wheels, and the woodwork of the carriage afterwards used to make

the fires by the light of which the workpeople were able to clear the line of the debris thrown all around. Of the 70 passengers who travelled by the train from 15 to 20 were more or less injured. The escape of many from instant death was considered, more especially by themselves, as miraculous. At an inquiry, "culpability seemed attached to the policeman at the station."

A collision, attended with loss of life, has occurred on the North British, near Edinburgh. An overladen goods train telegraphed for another engine, but even with this assistance, while passing through the Calton-hill tunnel it got run into by a passenger train. A few bruises were the only personal injuries, but the concussion broke the coupling-chain of a carriage, by which all the others, except the one nearest the engine, becoming detached, moved backwards, slowly at first, but, from the declivity, with a constantly accelerated speed. The guard in the front van attempted to arrest the train by applying his drag, but without effect, as it had been rendered useless by the collision; when, fortunately for himself, he made an effort to reach the drag in the centre of the train by crossing on the roofs of the intervening carriages. Scarcely had he left the van, when the train, now going with irresistible velocity, ran with tremendous impetus upon a pilot engine coming towards it on the same line on its way to Edinburgh. The guard's van was instantly smashed to pieces, and the carriage next it considerably damaged. The passengers, who were in a state of extreme terror, were removed by the assistance of several persons, when it was found that one old gentleman, Mr. Sinclair, of Rosefield, Portobello, was dead; whether from fright or internal injury was not ascertained. Many other personages were seriously injured. The dense accumulation of steam in the tunnel from the three engines is stated to be the cause of the first collision, from obscuring the lights.

A most frightful accident has occurred on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway at Penberth, near Wigan, by which the stoker of a passenger-train was killed, and the engine-driver and passengers were much injured. The train from Liverpool to Manchester ran violently into a loaded coal-train, which was passing from a siding on it to the main line. The engine and tender were overturned, and two empty carriages smashed. All the other carriages—eight in number—were thrown off the line. The stoker of the passenger-train jumped off just before the collision occurred; but before he could clear the tender, the engine fell upon him and killed him. The engine-driver's ribs were broken. How the passengers escaped serious injury is considered a miracle.

#### OUR CIVILISATION.

**SAVAGE ASSAULT.**—A ruffian has been committed for an assault which is thus minutely described by the unfortunate subject, Mrs. Louisa Harrison, a delicate-looking young woman, the wife of a master carpenter, living in Bull Inn-yard, Aldgate:—"I was sitting in my parlour, my two children being asleep on the sofa, when I heard a gentle knock at the street-door. I opened it and saw the prisoner, who said he had brought me some work from his sister. The moment he came in he closed the door and blew out the lamp. He then said, 'Now, I want your money.' I told him I had none, and he then hit me on the side of my dress, and the money I had in my pocket jinked. He immediately tore away my pocket through the pocket-hole of my dress, and throwing some coppers I had upon the floor, he put the silver in his pocket. He then hit me on the nose with his fist, and I bled profusely, and fell to the ground and cut my head. He then dragged me across the floor to the other end of the room, across which was a clothes-line, which he cut with a chisel he had about him. He then struck me while lying on the ground with my husband's large walking-stick, which was hanging on the line. I was stunned by the blow, but I got better. He then left me on the floor, and went to the other end of the room, and pulled two pistols out of his pocket and laid them on the table. Immediately afterwards he put the pistols in his pocket again, and he took the chisel out, and with it he cut the other end of the line, and then he tied my hands with the cord while I was on the ground. I tried to scream, but he put his hand over my mouth, and said if I hallooed he would kill my baby. He then jammed me in between two chairs, left the room, shut the door, and went up-stairs. I distinctly heard him, but was not able to speak at the time. Myself and my children were the only persons in the house."

**HUSBAND-BEATING.**—A man named Rayson has had a narrow escape. He went with his wife to see the Queen go to open Parliament, and on their return they had a discussion about the Queen's appearance. His wife said that her Majesty looked very pale, as she drank very much, which statement witness strongly denied. The prisoner became exceedingly indignant at his denial, and pushed him



down. He then went to close the shop, and as he was entering to fetch one of the shutters, she pulled down a two-pound weight, which was fixed to a rope near the door, and struck him on the top of the head with it. He immediately fell insensible, and a doctor was sent for. Rayson produced a certificate from the surgeon who attended him, setting forth that the wound was of a serious nature, and had it been inflicted an inch lower it must have proved fatal. In defence it was said that Rayson had pointed a poker at his wife, but that was proved to have been done on provocation.

**DOUBLE MURDER IN WARREN-STREET, FITZROY-SQUARE.**—It will be remembered by many that some time since a Frenchman, named Emanuel Barthelmy, was imprisoned for two months for having killed a man, named Cournot, in a duel. He has recently made himself more notorious by committing two murders in Warren-street. The first victim was Mr. Moore, a soda-water-manufacturer; the second victim was Mr. Collard, who lived next door. He was described as being a remarkably fine man, who had been formerly a soldier and then a policeman. These two deaths are all for which he can be held legally responsible—but he is morally guilty of the death of Mrs. Collard, who has since died through grief at her husband's fate.

#### A GREYNA-GREEN MARRIAGE.

An amusing case has appeared before the magistrates at Carlisle. Jane Howe was married at Gretna, in November, to John Orre, but the marriage was not "consummated," and he refused to support her. She then made application to the workhouse, not so much for relief, as to compel a summons against Orre, thereby obtaining a decision from a bench of magistrates respecting the validity of her marriage.

Complainant stated that she was servant to her aunt, who kept the Jolly Butcher, at Carlisle. Defendant asked her to go to Gretna, and she started with him on the night of Tuesday, the 7th ult. McCastlin and Leach, friends of Orre, went with them. They were married, but the marriage had never been consummated. She did not see Orre till the Saturday afterwards. Subsequently he refused to support her.

Mr. Hough, for the defendant, said that it was no marriage, because Orre was too drunk to enter into a contract. Various witnesses were called, and from their evidence it was doubtless a conspiracy to marry Mr. Orre. They stated that he was in such a state of drunkenness immediately before and after the marriage as to be quite incapable of knowing what he was about. One described him as being mad, a second crazy, and a third "regularly blue'd."

It was also stated that McCastlin had taken a man dressed up in female clothing to the defendant's house on the previous evening, with the intention of making a fool of him.

The defendant's counsel facetiously recommended the plaintiff to try the Ecclesiastical Courts.

The magistrates decided that the case did not concern them (the magistrates) in any way, and dismissed it.

#### DEATH OF LORD FREDERICK FITZ-CLARENCE.

The Globe says:—

"We sincerely regret to announce the death of Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, G.C.H., Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, and Colonel of the 36th Regiment. His lordship was second son of King William the Fourth and Mrs. Jordan; was born in 1799, and in 1821 married Lady Augusta Boyle, daughter of the Earl of Glasgow. Lord Frederick entered the army in 1814, and at his death held the rank of Lieutenant-General. Although he had never seen active service, Lord Frederick Fitzclarence always took a very warm interest in his profession, and the benefits of his military administration of the Portsmouth district and of the Bombay Presidency have been sensibly felt by those under his command."

Without wishing to make any harsh remarks against the subject of the above, we must take this opportunity of expressing our disapprobation of the system which gives such very high offices on such very slight claims. We trust there is an end of the ennoblement of royal bastards.

#### AN ARISTOCRATIC INSOLVENT.

Mr. RICHARD AUGUSTUS BETHELL, son of the Solicitor-General, has petitioned the Dublin Insolvent Court. The disclosures show that betting has principally caused the application.

Mr. Purcell, for an opposing creditor, said:

"The balance-sheet is one of the most extraordinary things of the kind ever exhibited, and it displayed a course of the most reckless and extravagant conduct,

and which any person in the garb of a gentleman ought to be ashamed to pursue. The amount of the balance-sheet was 12,168*l.*; but the insolvent alleges that he only received value for about half that sum, and there was no doubt that, when the entire case was heard, it would be found to come within the 68th section of the act. If the Court looked to the debtor side of the sheet, it would be seen what the insolvent was possessed of when he contracted these debts. 300*l.* a-year from his father; gifts, 600*l.*; 100*l.* a-year by his wife; and from his practice at the bar he made 150*l.* Then, on the other side, he puts down his expenses:—Rent for two years and a half, 850*l.*; taxes for horses and servants, 35*l.*; servants' wages, 105*l.*; other household expenses, 300*l.*; wearing apparel, 210*l.*; law costs, 200*l.*; stabling and keep of horses, 200*l.*; paid during the same period for interest, bonuses for loans, discounts, and expenses for warrants of attorney, 1000*l.*; lost in betting-offices and on the turf, 4000*l.*; lost by the sale of horses, 35*l.*; lost on Australian gold mining shares, 125*l.* And then he ascribes the cause of his present insolvency to the large amount of interest paid by him for money, to his being frequently sued to execution and compelled to compromise, to his losses on the turf and in London betting-houses, and to his being compelled by the state of his circumstances to abandon his position at the English bar. So that on the very face of his schedule he suggests that he incurred all these debts to enable him to carry on betting in London gaming-houses and on the turf. There was another item to which he should allude. It was for the sum of 1100*l.*, and he says in the observation attached to that entry—"The amount of my promissory note made by me in favour of this creditor, for value given to me, 100*l.* being the only sum I ever received." They had here a gentleman allowing every species of imposition to be practised upon him by these London money-lenders, and did not those items prove that the insolvent was so reckless that he would have signed a bill for 1000*l.* in order to obtain possession of a 5*l.* note? Altogether there were 84 creditors described in the balance-sheet, no property was returned, and he trusted that this English gentleman would learn to his cost that Irish courts of justice were not to be trifled with."

In cross-examination the insolvent said:

"In September, 1853, he was led to believe that his father would make some arrangement relative to the payment of his debts. Did not believe he would pay 11,000*l.* for him, but knew he had offered to pay 8000*l.* Purchased a diamond bracelet from Byfuss, in September, 1853, for 90*l.*; paid him 30*l.* in cash, and gave six bills for the remainder. Purchased it for the purpose of presenting it to a lady. Pledged it for 55*l.* in a few days after he bought it. Considered when his father paid his debts once he would do the same thing again. If his creditors had taken 10*l.* in the pound, thinks they would have been paid. His father paid his tradesmen's bills."

The Counsel for Mr. Bethell then made an elaborate speech, showing that the insolvent was more sinned upon than sinning.

The Commissioner seemed to agree with this view, and thought that the creditors relied on the wealth and position of the insolvent's father.

At a subsequent examination, in giving judgment, he said—

"The opposition was confined to two creditors. Upon looking over the schedule he perceived that there was not upon the face of it a single trade debt, and that the whole of the insolvent's liabilities had been incurred through an unfortunate propensity which he had for gambling and speculations upon the turf. He could not help remarking that such a reckless course as had been pursued by the insolvent was extremely disgraceful, and he trusted that the humiliating position in which he was now placed would cause him during the remainder of his life to pursue a very different course. The opposition, however, was confined to two creditors, neither of whom appeared in court with clean hands. As regarded Mr. Morphin, it was perfectly apparent that he made advances of money to the insolvent for the express purpose of enabling him to bet upon horses; at least that charge was alleged against him, and as he had not appeared and denied the statement, he had no right to ask to have the insolvent punished. The second opposing creditor was a Mr. Byfuss, whom his counsel had represented to be a respectable jeweller, but who had turned out to be a Jew, who carried on his business by travelling from race-course to race-course, betting upon horses, and, at the same time, endeavouring to sell his merchandise to the unwary. He was likewise perfectly acquainted with the condition and prospects of the insolvent, and he had not come over here to deny that such was the case. Had he been a respectable jeweller, or had the insolvent been opposed by men holding any honest position in society, the judgment of the court would be very different, and he (the Commissioner) would have marked his reprobation of such reckless extravagance and misconduct, by imposing a serious reprimand; but when he considered how those debts were contracted, and the character of the persons to whom the insolvent was liable, he could not help considering that the creditors were entitled to no consideration at the hands of the court, and therefore he would grant the insolvent a free discharge."

#### CHARGE OF FELONY AGAINST A MERCHANT.

At Bristol, considerable sensation has been produced by the arrest of Mr. John Gilbert, jun., an extensive oil merchant, on a charge of having conspired with certain workmen in the employ of Messrs. Ayres and Co., of Temple Gate Oilworks, to steal sundry parcels of oil, the property of that firm. It appears that circumstances which came to the knowledge of Messrs. Ayres caused them to give three of their men into custody for stealing oil. One of the men then made statements involving Mr. Gilbert, who, it was represented, had personally, and by his foreman, dealt with the prosecutor's oil cooper for oils stolen from his master's premises, paying only half the value. It was stated also that on one cask being purchased of the Messrs. Ayres in the regular way by defendant, there was an arrangement between the latter and the oil cooper that three casks should be delivered, and this had been done several times. Davey, the prisoner's foreman, has absconded, but a junior clerk in Mr. Gilbert's warehouse deposed at the examination before the magistrates to having been sent by his master to purchase oil of Messrs. Ayres' oil cooper, at 7*s.* the four-and-a-half gallon can. The witness further deposed that Mr. Gilbert wrote a letter and gave it to him to post, addressed to Davey, at Liverpool, in which he professed to upbraid Davey for having brought suspicion upon him by being mixed up with Messrs. Ayres' robbery, and in which he asked him to confide to him what he had really done. The witness also stated that as late as Tuesday Messrs. Ayres' can, in which much of the oil had been stolen, was in Mr. Gilbert's warehouse, and that that gentleman had directed witness to conceal it on the roof, which he did.

Officers have started in search of Davey, and Mr. Gilbert has been remanded till Monday next.

#### ADVERTISING EXTRAORDINARY.

As the advertisement duty no longer aims against the strength of journalism, we have no hesitation in giving additional publicity to the following wail of a bereaved imbecile:—

**TO THE EARLY WIDOWED.**—Owing to recent family differences, a gentleman of character and education, aged 28, and of a constitution unimpaired, who has retired, not without honour, from H.M.S. in quest of an Alliance more consonant with his tastes, would fain devote his, at present, unavailing energies to lighten the sorrows and smooth the Path of One who has been thus Bereaved.

The locality of residence is comparatively immaterial, but pecuniary circumstances should of course be proportioned to his own, as he will be in a position to devote an income of 300*l.* per ann.; on such points, however, the sacredness of Woman's Grief renders, it is felt, further allusion at the present moment unbecoming.

This gentleman, whose Name and Family command Distinction, and whose appearance has ever been regarded amongst his (perhaps over-partial) friends as of a highly prepossessing character, is a man of the most delicate sense of Honour and of principles eminently Religious; the Candid Inquirer need not, therefore, hesitate for a moment in dropping an early and Sufficiently explicit "billet" to the Hon. H.—h. B. M.—c. 19, Wentworth-place, Dublin.

N.B.—A photographic likeness will be sent if required. It is trusted that the Above will not be responded to by any display of heartless levity.

If we were only a widow we should certainly obtain a portrait of this Hibernian Honourable.

We are far less inclined to comply with the wishes of the following advertiser, who, like "Willikind," is cursed with a cruel paymaster:—

**THE Son of a Dissenting Minister, who wishes to devote himself to God's service in the Ministry of the Church, can receive no assistance from his father for the purpose of forwarding his education. Perhaps some member of the Church would lend him for a few years what money he might require. The highest references can be given. Please address J. P. P., "Guardian" Office, 15, Beaufort-buildings, Strand.—The Guardian.**

#### A SUEZ SHIP CANAL.

The Glasgow Commonwealth gives some interesting information respecting the old project of a ship canal across Suez:—

"Captain Allen, a well-known topographer, has proposed abandoning the canal across the Isthmus of Suez, and joining the seas by the formation of a vast salt-water lake in the valley of the Jordan. The Jordan runs from the north to the south of Palestine, and flows into the Dead Sea. Its course from the Dead Sea to the eastern arm of the Red Sea is supposed to have been checked by the convulsion that took place at Sodom and Gomorrah. It is proposed to introduce water along this whole line, and to join it, near the sea of Galilee, to the Mediterranean by a ship canal. The best spot for this canal would be immediately north of Mount Carmel. Here the valley of the Kishon runs up from the sea through the plain of Esdraelon; and, at the water-shed, Jezreel is met by the valley of Jezreel, which runs straight to the Jordan. The two valleys form an easy mode of access from the one place to the other; and thus a canal might be made through which the Mediterranean might flow of its own accord to fill the Jordan valley. The length of the canal from Haifa to Bethshan would

be thirty-two miles, running from N.W. to S.E. The cutting would be anything but impracticable.

"The southern canal, from the Gulf of Akaba, would probably be more difficult. This canal must be at least forty miles long, and, for more than twenty miles, through a cutting two hundred feet deep. The rock appears to be sandstone, and at present is covered with boulders of porphyry. This deep cutting would pass through the place where Moses lifted up the brazen serpent. These two canals made—the one to join the Jordan valley with the Mediterranean, the other to join the Dead Sea with the Red Sea—the sea-water would pour into the two valleys, which lie lower than the Mediterranean, and fill them up. The Jordan valley varies in width from four to nine miles, and is shut in by high mountains on each side. It is a broad crevasse, the floor of which slopes the whole way. At the Sea of Tiberias it is 320 feet below the Great Western Sea; and on the shores of the Dead Sea it has reached a depth of 1512 feet below the Mediterranean. By letting in the water by means of these two canals, the whole valley would be inundated from a depth varying from one foot to 1512; and instead of the present barren valley, with its sacred river, we should have a magnificent inland sea, Lake Jordan, 160 miles in length, and from four to ten miles broad. But little territory of any value would be absorbed, and the junction of the oceans would be accomplished.

"The chief practical difficulty would be a supply of labour. On the route of the northern canal Europeans can easily work in the open air; and it is mooted that the southern canal might be made for five years the penal settlement of India and Europe. Every man sentenced to more than fourteen years' imprisonment should be sent thither; the completion of his task restoring him to liberty. No wages would thus be required; and a couple of Turkish irregular cavalry regiments would furnish all the guard required.

"The political and commercial advantages of such a work must be patent to all. The route to India by the Cape of Good Hope would be completely abandoned. Swift sailing vessels would reach any port in Europe from Bombay in forty days. Our trade with the East would be doubled.

"The military advantages of such an undertaking must not be overlooked.

"What say our men of science, our politicians, our merchants, our men of means and might, to so noble an enterprise?"

#### NAPIER STILL AN ACTIVE COMMANDER.

The following is from a correspondent of the *Daily News*, who dates from Kiel Harbour:—

"We have had fine times of it here. The natives have been particularly hospitable and polite—indeed, I have had invitations for at least twenty balls and dancing parties. Yesterday we gave a ball on board the Duke, and had some of the first people of Kiel and its immediate neighbourhood. Every one was highly delighted with the arrangements, and even Sir Charles took a turn in a country dance, to the great joy of the visitors."

Sir Charles has grown more elegant in his exercises than was his wont. On his return from Syria it is well known that he indulged in the more boisterous and juvenile leap-frog.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**INTENDED MARRIAGE IN HIGH LIFE.**—Mr. Chichester has been released from prison. With his father, Lord Edward Chichester, as a surety, he has undertaken never again to molest Miss Thornhill, and also to pay the costs as soon as they are properly taxed. Sir Benjamin Brodie has certified that longer imprisonment would endanger Mr. Chichester's life.

**THE AFRICAN TRAVELLERS.**—Intelligence has been received at the Foreign Office of the death of the enterprising African traveller Dr. Barth, and also of Mr. Henry Waddington, who have both fallen victims to the climate of Africa. The last communication from Dr. Barth announced his approaching departure from Timbuctoo for the interior.

**LORD CARDIGAN AT BALAKLAVA.**—A friend has furnished us with the following particulars of Lord Cardigan's share in the heroic charge of the Light Cavalry Division at the battle of Balaklava from a private letter written by his lordship himself. When he (Lord Cardigan) had ridden through the Russian lines, and was near the muzzles of their guns in an earthwork battery, he was unable to see what to do next. Observing, however, that the embrasures were not high, he put his horse at one of them, as he would have charged a fence in Leicestershire. The horse took the wall, and alighting on the gun they fell together. Lord Cardigan got up as quickly as possible, and flourished his sword, when, to his astonishment and relief, he saw the Russian artillerymen running away. Knowing that he had no support, he retired with the rest of the division, who were fortunate enough to get back to their own lines.—*South Eastern Gazette.*

**NEW COSTUME FOR THE ARMY.**—A correspondent of the *Glasgow Daily Mail*, writing from the Crimea says: "Were you to see the 93rd now marching through

Glasgow, you would suppose them to be a parcel of madmen let loose, for not two men are dressed alike, and some have no dress at all, unshaven, and often for a week unwashed. I, for instance, go about in a blanket made into a sort of coat, with a hood to it, a red Turkish fez, large boots over my trousers covered with mud, and unshaved for the last three months. I often think what a fine figure I would cut at your fireside."

**THE KING AND QUEEN OF GREECE.**—At half-past seven, I went to dine at the Palace: we were about thirty; General Church, General Kalerki (I believe with both it was the first time for many years), three ladies of the household, and the remainder for the most part were Greek deputies. I sat between the Queen and the Grand Mistress. The Queen's conversation is full of liveliness and intelligence, and it requires some self-control not to become one of her partisans. There is a circle both before and after dinner. My Lord Lieutenant's uniform led to many enquiries from the King about our militia. He decidedly gives the impression of a well-meaning man. His silver Greek dress is, I think, on the whole, the most comely costume I know. The rooms and meal were handsome. Their civil list (of 40,000*l.* a year, I believe) is large considering the general revenue of the country.—*Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters.*

## Postscript.

LEADER OFFICE, Saturday, December 16.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

THANKS TO THE ARMY.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE moved the vote of thanks to the army. Specially, also, to Lord Raglan, who, said his grace, had risked his life with too great forgetfulness of its value. He likewise proposed to ask the thanks of the House for Sir G. Brown and Sir J. Burgoyne, and the Duke of Cambridge, who, a member of the Royal Family, had shared in the dangers of the campaign. He specially eulogised Sir Lacy De Evans and his conduct at Inkerman, where he rose from his bed to join in the fight. The vote must extend to all the other officers, from the oldest generals down to the youngest ensigns who defended their colours at Alma. Still warmer, if possible, should be the thanks to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who never in history more fully deserved the gratitude of their country, and above all for Inkerman, essentially a soldier's battle. Nor was their discipline or conduct in camp less distinguished than their valour in battle. As a reward the Queen has ordered a medal for the Crimea, and that the names of Alma and Inkerman should be inscribed on the colours of the regiments.

The Duke proceeded, at length, to condole with those who had lost relatives in the campaign; eulogised the French generals, and especially General Bosquet; praised the conduct of those employed in the transport service, and the military officers who, he said, had done their duty; and concluded by inviting Lord Derby to second the motion.

LORD DERBY, in a set speech of no very particular excellence, did second it, the only point worthy of notice being a doubt he expressed whether a vote of thanks to French troops did not interfere with their allegiance to their own Sovereign.

The vote was agreed to after speeches from Lords HARDWICKE, HARDINGE, MALMESBURY, GOUGH, and COLCHESTER.

#### THE AUSTRIAN TREATY.

THE MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE brought the question of the Austrian Treaty forward, and asked when it would be produced, and whether, after Christmas, the House would be in possession of all the papers which would explain the conduct of Austria. The people of this country would require a strict inquiry into the circumstances connected with the position Austria had taken in the Principalities, which he and they believed to have caused all the difficulties of the operations in the Crimea.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN first laid the treaty on the table, and produced a selection of the papers explanatory of the negotiations and the course taken by Austria. He explained that after the Austro-Turkish Convention and the raising of the siege of Silistria, the circumstances of the war were so far altered, that the Austrian occupation became a means of action against Russia; and the British and French Governments insisted that if it took place, it should only be with the full consent of Turkey, reserving the right of the Turks and Allies to occupy at the same time if they thought fit; and also that all arrangements, civil and military, should have the assent of the Porte. He admitted that, to a certain extent, Austria had neglected the opportunities she had to assist the Allies, but he denied that any blame was attributable to the English and French Governments. With regard to any differences which took place between Omar Pacha and Count Coronini, he believed there were faults on both sides, but a commission had been ap-

pointed at the instance of Austria to inquire into the real circumstances of the complaints which had been made.

#### FOREIGN ENLISTMENT BILL.

The House then went into committee on the Foreign Enlistment Bill. The passing of the main clause was fiercely opposed by Lord ELLENBOROUGH and Lord DERBY, who repeated the arguments against it used by them on Thursday evening with even greater vehemence.

A division was taken, when the numbers were 55 to 43; majority for Government 12. The Bill was ordered to be reported this day (Saturday) at two o'clock.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MR. BERTOLACCI.

MR. WISE asked Mr. Strutt (ex-Chancellor of the Duchy) to explain why Mr. Bertolacci was appointed to the office of auditor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the right honourable gentleman explained, with the impertinence of a vulgar rich man, that there were, as he thought, defects in the system of keeping the accounts of the Duchy, owing to the more literary habits of Mr. Lockhart; and when that gentleman resigned, it appeared to him best to appoint a person from a public office, and it was on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone that Mr. Bertolacci, who had a talent for unravelling perplexed accounts, was appointed—at a salary reduced by one-half. Mr. Bertolacci was no personal acquaintance of his.

#### CHURCH-RATES.

LORD J. RUSSELL refused to state the intentions of the Government as to Church-rates until after the recess.

#### RELIGION AND NURSES.

MR. G. A. HAMILTON complained that Protestant Scripture-readers were excluded from the hospital at Scutari while Sisters of Mercy were admitted; and Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT explained that the Sisters were only a portion of the nurses sent out, who were of all persuasions, but under the direction of one person, a Protestant; and the Sisters of Mercy willingly placed themselves under the regulations laid down by Miss Nightingale, which prevented any religious proselytism; and the Scripture-readers had not, as a body, been ejected from the hospital, though only such as were under military authorities were admitted.

#### THE AUSTRIAN TREATY.

The Treaty with Austria was laid on the table.

#### THANKS TO THE ARMY.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL then moved the votes of thanks to the army, and called on both those who approved and disapproved of the expedition to the Crimea, to pay a tribute to the superhuman valor of the troops. He deprecated criticism on military operations, on the ground that no one could criticise such operations without being acquainted with the exact circumstances in which our army was placed. He then traced the military history of Lord Raglan, and declared that every step he had gained was due to his merit alone, and he (Lord J. Russell) remembered seeing him performing the duties of military secretary to Wellington with most wonderful capability and facility. He paid a high compliment to Lord Raglan's administrative ability while at the Horse Guards, and showed how admirably he had gained the confidence and esteem both of our own and the French service. The rest of his speech was little more than a narrative of the facts of the campaign.

MR. DISRAELI seconded the motion in a speech in his best manner; eloquent and neatly tuned, but offering no very salient points.

LORD HOTHAM, MR. LAYARD, and MR. DRUMMOND spoke, and the latter gentleman got up a "row" with Mr. Layard about his writing the well-known letter condemnatory of Admiral Dundas. Mr. LAYARD said he was ready to substantiate any charge he had made; and the matter was composed by the intervention of Sir J. GRAHAM, who urged harmony on such an occasion. The vote was then agreed to, and the House rose early.

#### THE WAR.

A DESPATCH from Balaklava, through Varna, has been received at Vienna, stating that Lord Raglan has caused some siege pieces to be embarked on board the fleet, for the purpose of forcing the port of Odessa and using it as a winter station for the fleets. The despatch is without date, and has not as yet been confirmed.

#### THE AUSTRIAN ALLIANCE.

A PRIVATE despatch from Vienna, Thursday evening, says:—"The ratifications of the treaty of alliance between Austria and the Western Powers were exchanged this afternoon, at the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, between the Plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, and England."



## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 7, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

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# The Leader.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1854.

## Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

## THE PARLIAMENT.

THAT the House of Commons is too much of an aristocratic club and too little of a popular assembly is an opinion entertained pretty generally. But even those who expected least of it in the present session, have been astonished and perplexed by the singular contempt with which it has this week been treated by the Queen and her Ministers. The notion of our governors seems to be that the House of Commons is as much of a formality as Convocation. Worse: that also seems the notion of the House of Commons itself. Whatever popular representation has been found within the last few days, has been encountered in the Upper Chamber, where loyalty and patriotism have not prevented free and honest speech from Lord Grey, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Ellenborough.

The Ministers, in reassembling Parliament, have obviously been impressed with the idea that their business was to make use of Parliament as a constitutional machinery, which they could not very well dispense with, for the purpose of getting authority to do certain things about which they were strongly inclined not to consult Parliament. They ask votes, not opinions; and they carefully withhold their own opinions of the war, of its present and its future, and of its politics. Now, when a demand was made for a Christmas Session, the belief was that Parliament would assist the Government with something besides votes. In a Government which has ignominiously broken down, a tone of abrupt assumption that there is unlimited confidence in it appears to us to be a very singular insolence. No contrast can be greater than that between the apologetic minuteness of the Duke of Newcastle's defence and the haughty reserve of Lords Aberdeen, Russell, and Palmerston, when questioned as to their policy.

Will the noble lord say when the Austrian treaty will be communicated to the House? asks a member. Lord John replies with alert imbecility, "The very moment that the ratifi-

cation is telegraphed." The House of Commons may talk about the treaty when it is all settled!

This answer was given on Thursday. On Tuesday two of the Ministers had spoken of the treaty. Lord Aberdeen, uncouthly reticent, said some negatives,—as that the treaty would not bind England to uphold the integrity of the Austrian dominions. Lord John Russell, —pressed by Mr. Disraeli, who reads history and remembers what are the traditional functions of the House of Commons—was more explicit—was, indeed, disastrously communicative. Hearing his indifferent references to the subject, one was bewildered to account for all the fuss which the Ministerial organs, followed by stockbrokers on every bourse in Europe, had been making about the treaty. Lord John said the treaty amounted to nothing; it was merely a treaty that, if all parties could agree some months hence, they would then make a treaty. Familiar with the bathos of diplomacy, we were yet staggered at this treaty. The House of Commons was puzzled: funds went down: there was a split at the Cabinet Council next day. But Thursday came: and not one member of the Nation's House had the courage to ask for an explanation.

The Foreigners Enlistment Bill is one of the most important measures of the half century. It was introduced to the House of Lords in a speech of five minutes' duration, with an understanding with Lord Derby, which, of course, Lord Derby, the least chivalrous of mankind, did not fulfil, that the measure was not to be debated. It happened that it was debated because Lord Ellenborough is an eccentric man, who does not see the necessity of the conduct of Parliament being controlled by the secret understandings of two or three potent individuals. Because it was there debated, the House of Commons gained some information of the intentions of the Government to establish a system boldly at variance with the tendencies of the time in England. Ministers never thought of the decency of making a statement to the House of Commons of these intentions: the bill was to have come down, in due course, like a railway bill. The humble House of Commons is not in the least offended.

This Foreigner's Enlistment Bill and the new Militia Bill are the two measures for the passing—not for the consideration of which Parliament is reassembled. Lord Palmerston introduced the latter in a speech of careful brevity. Sir, said he, what do we want with a reserve—we rely on the English nation for a reserve. That is a fine phrase for quotation in the French papers, and is comfort to the timid in the Crimea. But Lord Palmerston might have taken the opportunity to state what these grand nobles mean when they say "We rely on the English nation." What for? The English nation would like to know: and the House of Commons ought to find out. Surely we are at a point in the history of the war when we ought to be told by our governors what are the objects of the war. It is with great reluctance that we refer to a speech by the Duke of Argyll: his grace being a personage of conspicuous no importance, whose position in the Cabinet is as perplexing as that of the fly in amber. Yet the Duke of Argyll is a Minister, and the only Minister who has spoken of the objects of the war. The Duke of Argyll ridicules English sympathies with "nationalities," and speaks as if it were a Cabinet determination to limit the war to the east of Europe. Now those rumours which are always right speak of a very different opinion being entertained by those members of the Cabinet who do not regard the Duke of Argyll as a sound political leader. Thus: publicly the Government does not speak of its policy; privately its policy is spoken of as divided. As a self-

governed people, can we appreciate this position? For our own part, we regard the future of the war with apprehensions. In the first place, the war will not be well conducted, because, as has been fully shown so far, the Ministers are without the intellect and the energy required in a great war. In the next place, the war will not be vigorously conducted, because the Ministers have not yet made up their minds what the war is about, and what are to be the conditions of peace. Perhaps, however, it may contribute to the entirety of the alliance between France and England that the English people shall not make pretensions to do anything more in the war than—bleed and pay.

Profound is the mystery in which the Ministers hide their views on "Public Business." Mr. Disraeli asks as to the plans for the Session. Lord John Russell answers, "We have met this month to do special work: when we meet again in February it will be time enough to let the House know what we are going to do with Great British affairs." Thus, when a special question is asked, the Minister is drily evasive. The question put by Mr. Scully as to Irish Tenant Right was suggested, we have no doubt, by considerations deeply important to farmers in Ireland. The Government's intentions could as well be stated now as two months hence—there could be no public inconvenience, there would be much Irish satisfaction. Again, in regard to the newspaper stamp, vast interests would be relieved from great anxiety if Mr. Gladstone were explicit; he prefers, and on no public ground, to be ingeniously reserved. These, however, are minor points. The great fact is that Parliament is to adjourn in a few days without the slightest intimation of the views of the Ministry with respect to Finance. It will be said that a Budget is an affair of the Funds, and a Government must hide its projects until they are ripe for action. Upon that objection we would retort—Why is Parliament to separate from December till February? Why, now that we have Parliament again, are we to endure another recess? The Christmas holidays might be limited to the Saturday, Sunday, and Monday—at most, to a week; and an arrangement of that sort would permit of the business that has to be done this year being at once commenced. But there is to be a long Christmas recess, because Cabinets composed of the governing classes have a prejudice against Parliament, and because the House of Commons is of late years becoming content with its functions as a Court of Registration.

The Coalition Government is not strong: it has lost most of its prestige for great individual capacities: and in that prestige was its only strength. It is a convenience, however, that this Government should be kept in; and we would most earnestly warn ardent Liberals not to be misled by the bid for their support made by Mr. Disraeli, whose tactics in the matter of the Austrian alliance are only surpassed in clumsiness by his proffered championship of the No-Popery mania. But we would, assuredly, ask the Liberal party in the House of Commons to dictate to that Government, which, without their votes, would disappear in a week. We ventured to say last session that that party would be deluded in this war, if it did not take care to make conditions with the Government. We repeat: this session—Pass no bills, vote no money, until you have extracted a revelation of the secret history which is now being acted in all the capitals of Europe. If a Liberal party reappeared with party organisation in the House of Commons, the Government would be tested: it would be broken up; and the true, honest portions of it would remain—continuing a "Coalition" by bringing in more Liberals.

## THE FOREIGN LEGION.

In sober truth, the Ministerial bill for authorising the Crown to enlist not more than 15,000 foreigners for the service of the country in the present war was unexplained. The foreigners, it appears, would be enlisted, drilled, and then employed against Russia; but we are not told from what countries they would be drawn; and we cannot perceive that the allusion to Germany and Switzerland is a real definition of the source whence even the first draft would be taken. The measure is open to obvious objections, and they have not been forgotten by the Opposition. The idea of authorising the Crown to organise and drill an army of 15,000 foreigners within the United Kingdom is repugnant to constitutional feeling; the idea that we must rely upon foreigners to assist us in the war is repugnant to the newly-awakened military feeling of the country; and the idea that the bill is a weak point in the Ministerial plan, is delightful to the Opposition. Hence it forms the object of studied attack, and its success cannot be anticipated.

There might, however, be good grounds for a measure to employ foreigners, and we should be the last to object. If it were the intention to accept the service of Poles, and Hungarians, or Italians, we should hail the measure; but if that were the purpose, if there were any intention of enabling the peoples to redress the balance of unhappy alliances, and to stand by the side of this country in defending national independence against its chief aggressor, there could be no necessity to limit the number. Granting that under actual alliance with Austria, this country could not employ the subjects of that power without the leave of their Government, still there are other countries not in alliance with us who could well furnish their legions; and surely we are not bound to consider the convenience of half treacherous, wholly hostile Italian and German Governments, who do not think fit to declare themselves on our side in this war. But the number of peoples who are the natural enemies of absolutism is not limited to 15,000. The Poles alone have not been reduced to that beggarly number. The mere numerals, therefore, make us doubt whether Government intends to employ the sons of the oppressed nations; or, if Government does so, whether it can really rise to so great a duty when it begins with so paltry an instalment.

And what necessity is there for bringing the foreign recruits to be drilled on *English* soil? Ministers reel with indignation the idea that foreigners are to be organised for preserving peace at home: why do we want them here at all, then? They could as easily be drilled at Malta as at Aldershot. Malta, to be sure, does not lie to the North, and we know well that the marine campaign in the Baltic cannot be renewed without an army. But this point, like all the essential points of the bill, remains unexplained. Possibly, if Ministers had the courage to explain what they design, we might be compelled to support them. If we knew any of the purposes for which this foreign auxiliary legion was to be employed, we might say it is most desirable to endow the Crown with discretion, to free its hands, and let it make use of any auxiliaries that it can find. We mistrust the discretion in this case, because it does not appear to be large enough. If our Government intends to stand really free, it would not disengage itself for using only 15,000 foreigners as an instrument, and remain bound as to all other foreigners who would be so eminently our natural allies. If the object is to let loose the Poles upon Russia, why oblige them to come to this country, as if England lay in the road from Poland to St. Petersburg? If Government stood in fear of the Opposition—if it ap-

prehended the jealousies that still survive amongst us on behalf of the constituted Governments abroad—it should rather have left this measure alone altogether than have designed one which can alarm the Absolutist party without satisfying the National party. If there is a latent greatness in Ministers, let it come out: they need not fear it. If they designed to carry on the war with all the resources of strength that they can muster, let them say so, and fear no man out of the Cabinet, or in it; for then they would be supported by an entire body of the English people. But they will not win support by abortive fragments of great measures.

## EXTEND THE MILITIA!

THERE is no question that Lord Palmerston's Bill for sanctioning the service of Militia regiments, who volunteer beyond the bounds of the United Kingdom, will pass during the short sitting. It follows almost as a matter of course that other men will be required at home to supply the places of those sent abroad. The whole of the present militia will be embodied, but the whole of the present militia, we conceive, will not be sufficient to secure the safety of the country or to supply the requirements of the foreign services;—and we do not rely on the Enlistment of Foreigners Bill becoming law. Already Lord Palmerston talks of sending militia garrisons to the North American colonies, though we can hardly think it probable that any regiments can be required in Canada, unless our Government is bent upon quarrelling with the United States—for the colonists themselves have undertaken to guard the British provinces for the British Crown. If they were attacked by an enemy, their cry of help would bring over the border thousands of those Yankee riflemen who were quite prepared to take leave of "the old woman" and the children in 1837 to defend the colonies against another enemy. The Yankees would be quite as willing to bring down a Russian as any other kind of "bar." The defence of those provinces, therefore, may be left, as all really free countries may, to their own residents and neighbours.

Nevertheless, it is clear that an extension of the militia should anticipate any crying demand for it. Already, the regiments along the whole of the east and south coasts are to be embodied for evident purposes; but all of our coasts which are accessible to a foreign foe should be prepared in case some possible disaster should prevent the Russians from being intercepted by sea. We cannot anticipate any such result; but we have already learned in this war not to count upon human calculations; and it would be disgrace as well as calamity, if the Russians came and found the English people unprepared. Moreover, Lord John Russell says that the war is to be protracted; it is quite evident that its immediate progress is totally uncertain; our alliances are still unarranged, with the exception of the French; we shall, therefore, want militiamen to recruit the armies abroad as well as at home; and if the Czar should make his resistance commensurate to the extent of his territories, to his resources, and the greatness of his enemies, we shall have to provide larger armies abroad than we have ever done before.

The only relief in that necessity would come from those nationalities who are ready to assist us in breaking up the absolutist system; but the Duke of Argyll indignantly repels for the present Government the mission of assisting those nationalities. We are not to accept the alliance of Poland, Hungary, or Italy; we have not procured effectually the alliance of Austria; we discern the enmity of Prussia;

we rely upon France, whose conduct depends upon the life of one mortal man; we count for the defence of our coasts upon a fleet that is a mortal structure not unassailable by the hostile elements of air, water, or fire. It is clear, therefore, that the people should be put in train to defend itself, unless, indeed, we have amongst us statesmen who would be willing some day, upon an excuse of necessity, to surrender our administration to the satraps of the Czar.

More immediately the militia is required for the purposes already mentioned, and for that of affording a nursery to the recruitment of the line. The progress of recruitment, recently, has been satisfactory. The character of the recruits, at all events physically, has not been worse; but there have been fluctuations in the supply, and even the enrolment of the militia is not quite what it ought to be in all parts. In some parts of Scotland there is a decided hitch, and in some of the English counties an extension might also make us conscious of a deficiency. The causes are evident, and the Scotch case presents them with peculiar nakedness. The northern counties do not present above a sixteenth of the number required to fill up the militia rolls. Is it that the clansmen have lost their spirit? The Highlanders at Balaklava can answer the question. Now, it is not that the spirit has left the Highlanders, but that the Highlanders have left the Highlands. They were first of all carried away by the ejections for the benefit of the landed proprietors, and subsequently they have emigrated for their own benefit. The ejections were a positive act of misappropriation. The English landlord is not the owner of the soil; he is only its governor, with certain proprietary rights. In modern times he has become a trader instead of a lord, and he has expelled the people in whose numbers and gallantry he used to take a pride. The punishment for that usurpation has now come upon us, when we want the men and find them gone. It is the same in this country, though to a less extent. England has parted with her people at the rate of a million in three years; and why? For the twofold reason, that the people cannot obtain here the livelihood which they can in the West, and that they are deprived here of those political and social rights which they secure in the West. They have been taught by landlords and farmers to regulate their residences and their conduct of life entirely by the higgling of the market; their value in the land became only a question of wages, and they have followed wages. Deprived of their rights in their country, they retain no duties to their country. They have gone to provinces, some of them still British, where men acquire rights, and with them duties. They have gone where the residents make a nation, and when we want them we discover the reasons why we have not retained them. It so happens, however, that the extension of the militia is one of the very first and most efficacious steps towards the restoration both of rights and duties. It is true that those acts for disposing of the militiamen are, in a constitutional sense, illegal for they are to be passed without the consent of the militiamen, who, not allowed the suffrage, are not represented in Parliament. But the very act gives to those men-franchised classes, to a certain extent, a right which every Englishman enjoys under the Bill of Rights, but which has been taken away from him by subsequent statutes—the right of possessing and bearing arms. This right is expressly secured by the constitution of the United States, whither Englishmen emigrate by preference for the purpose of enjoying that and the rights that follow from it. No disarmed people can be



the guard of its own liberties, it can hold them only on sufferance. The English people is a disarmed people, but the extension of the militia is a step towards restoring to it its arms and its honour.

As the want of the people is felt, the people will rise in value, not only in the wages market, but in the nation. They will gradually regain a consciousness that their consent is a matter of importance to the Government. We desire in various quarters the elements of a national party; that party, however, seems at present struggling and incompetent to shape out for itself or set up, distinctly, a positive object for which to unite. We have before named the truly national object which ought to animate all Englishmen as Englishmen: it is the restoration in full of those rights which were secured to us by the Bill of Rights—a standard round which no Englishman could scruple to rally, and the restoration of which would be sufficient for every object that the most extreme Liberals could desire. Such a party will watch the development of a militia as furnishing a powerful key to that restoration.

#### THE PURCHASE SYSTEM.

ONLY one libel can be worse than that which declares our officers in the East to be recreant. It is said that many of them are dandies, Sybarites, who are sick of the hardships of warfare, who tremble at the perils they may have to undergo again, and are returning home. This is untrue. The British officer is one of the most daring and enduring animals in existence. The captain's post is, properly, at a certain distance in front of his regiment; but, we believe, there is scarcely an exception to the rule that the captain is always found in *advance* of his right place. The attempt to enforce obedience, and to restrain him within bounds where he becomes a less obvious mark for the enemy, has been given up as hopeless. The only libel which is worse than that now levelled at our officers, is the wicked statement that some other class, the middle class or the working class, is tainted with cowardice. Every action in the Crimea has answered for the working class, to whom the bulk of our soldiers belong. This middle class is also represented; but if there were any ground to give consistency to the libels upon our officers, it must be laid at the door of the system of purchase.

That system has had many ill effects, which help each other. By stamping the position of an officer as a mark to a certain extent of wealth, it makes that position coveted by those who are anxious to be thought grand and wealthy; the consequence is that men are picked to be officers in the British army, not on the score of their qualities, but on the score of their desire to be thought grand and wealthy, and of their having the means for indulging that desire. You want men to fight at places like Inkerman and Alma, and you run about in English society to pick out men who can pay 700*l.*, 1000*l.*, or more for wearing a red coat. What is the practical effect? You pick men who are capable of paying 700*l.*, 1000*l.*, or more, strongly impressed with the desire to wear a red coat; and it so happens that the majority of men thus selected are bold, daring fellows, who, being put to the pinch, "come out strong" with officer-like qualities. The reason is that the ruder part of these qualities is common to the great bulk of the English people; but by such a plan of selection you run a chance of getting idlers, dandies, Sybarites, and even cowards. They have been found—yes, at Alma. But do not say that it is our aristocracy that, as a class, produces these cowards; it is not from the families of Russells, Stanleys, or Somersets, that the cowards come.

Some person has said that it is the sons of hatters and grocers who creep into the ranks, and yield the supply of cowards and renegades; but the gallant officer who mutinied against an order to advance in pure terror, or the other gallant officers who resign active service to come home—Lord George Paget—these are not sons of hatters or grocers. And we will ask Lord Raglan whether the working classes as a class have shown themselves cowards on the fields of the Crimea. The class which is stigmatised is that of the paying dandies—men whose ambition is for show, and who can pay, and who, therefore, alone get into the ranks of officers.

If the system of commission is one that selects without reference to officer-like qualities, so the system of appointments in the higher grades is one that operates, apparently, without reference to the qualities for those grades. We have more than one General of Division coming home; we have another General likely enough to succeed to the first command, whose past occasions a positive alarm at the idea of his taking that post; and we have others whose very remaining in the Crimea is an occasion of mistrust. We cannot conceive what qualities directed the choice of Lord Cardigan, of Lord Lucan, or of the Duke of Cambridge. Of Sir de Lacy Evans we say nothing that is not full of admiring respect; he had, by hard work in the field, earned his right to remain there as long as possible; and age was not a sufficient ground for refusing him the appointment. But more flagrant even than the Cambridge case is that of England.

The *Times* has ripped it all up. In the beginning of 1842, Sir Richard England was charged with the duty of leading reinforcements from Scinde, where he was in command, to General Nott, at Candahar. To do that he had to traverse the Kojuck pass in the intervening mountain range. He attempted it on the 28th of March, was repulsed by a paltry band of natives, retreated, entrenched himself in alarm, and sent a letter to General Nott, offering to co-operate with the latter if he also should retreat! He received an angry letter, intimating that Nott had no intention of retreating, and demanding his advance; he again approached the Kojuck pass, and sat down, literally in his own chair, debating whether he should proceed or not, and silently denying the opportunities of his officers to go forward. At last he resumed march with his forces when other regiments from the opposite side had manned the pass, and thus showed that it did not include the "dangers" that he had apprehended. That is the gentleman to whom the fortune of death and of succession might hand the command of the armies that had to plough their bloody way to victory at Alma and Inkerman. And who was the general at Candahar, whose duty it was to expose England's conduct to himself? It was William Nott, the son, we believe, of a country inn-keeper; one of those middle class men who have "crept into commissions." There are more of such remaining, and they are to be found, not by the score but by the hundred, in England, or in the Crimea. But the system of purchase excludes the class from the rank of officers when they do get into the army, and excludes still larger numbers from entering the army at all. The twenty sergeants who have lately received commissions are a grand confession that the system is bad. The new rule, for giving commissions to two sergeants in each battalion is a further step, breaking in upon the system, and so far good; but it is another confession that the system is absolutely bad, and needs not tinkering or nibbling, but reforming altogether. Those who maintain it have been obliged to break it. Yet they venture to

continue to exclude, as a class, the Sullivans and Plunketts, who may be found strewn among the ranks in the Crimea, while they continue to admit home-sick, paying dandies who have been permitted to buy in and are leniently permitted to sell out. And so it will be while the posts of officers in the British army are subjected to the rules of stockjobbing.

#### Opera Council.

(IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS IN ALL OTHERS, HOWEVER EXTENSIVE, AND ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR ERRORS.)

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write. —MILTON.

#### LORD DERBY'S HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Dec. 14, 1854.

SIR,—In the *Times*' report of Tuesday's debate, Lord Derby is represented as thus quoting an epigram, well known, he suggested, to many of their lordships:

"Lord Chatham with his sword drawn,  
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan,  
Sir Richard longing to be at him,  
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

He considered it a *propos* to the relative attitude of Sir Charles Napier and the Russian Admiral in the Baltic. Was his lordship born in the pre-historic no less than in the pre-scientific period? The lines refer to the Walcheren expedition; Chatham and Strachan were coadjutors, the one commanding by land, the other by sea; they waited, according to the epigrammatist, each for the other's help, to attack the French. The much injured poet wrote thus:

"Lord Chatham with his sword drawn,  
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan,  
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,  
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

F. H. H.

#### LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE COURT OF AUSTRIA.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

Kemptown, 12th December.

SIR,—The *Times* stated in a leading article this morning, that "the conclusion of an alliance between the Courts of Austria and France" (said by its Berlin correspondent to be the result of Lord Palmerston's visit to Paris) "is an event of incalculable importance to the politics of continental Europe," and that "it is the most conservative combination in Europe." The same leading article also contains an allusion to the vain attempts of Louis Napoleon to ally himself to some of the principal continental courts, but "he fell back on the alliance with England."

At that time Napoleon's schemes of aggrandisement were adverse to England but favourable to Russia, and M. de Persigny was commissioned to make the following proposals for a "revision of the map of Europe" to two of the principal German courts.

For his share of the spoil, Napoleon demanded Belgium, the Rhine, and Egypt; to Prussia he offered Hanover; to Moldavia, Wallachia, and the Legations to Austria; Constantinople to Russia; and Piedmont to the late Duke de Leuchtenberg, his "alliance de famille" with the Czar. Napoleon, as far back as November, 1843, who was then planning a *coup d'état* (he turned out the Odilon Barrot Ministry for that purpose), sent M. de Persigny to Vienna to make proposals nearly similar to these to Prince Schwarzenberg. Schwarzenberg sent for M. de Beaumont, then Minister for France at the Austrian court, and showed the proposals to him, stating that they were matters which ought not to be concealed from him. The Bonapartist *coup d'état*, however, was adjourned, and as the Assembly would not have entertained any such proposals, M. de Persigny's mission failed.

Your readers should compare this precious scheme with Napoleon's more recent and anti-Russian plan for "the revision of the map of Europe," reprinted by Mr. Jeffs, of the Burlington Arcade, and they may profitably meditate upon the contrast afforded by Napoleon in 1849 and in 1854. An alliance, however, with Austria led to the downfall of Louis Napoleon. Let him and his English allies, therefore, beware of alliances, defensive or offensive, with a State whose maxim has been:

"Wars let others wage; but thou, lucky Austria, marry!"

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

Literature.

Office are not the least important, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make a man a writer, but they enforce the law. — *Edinburgh Review*.

FOREIGN POLICY.

*Thirty Years of Foreign Policy: A History of the Secretarieship of the Earl of Aberdeen and Viscount Palmerston.* By the Author of "The Right Hon. B. Disraeli, M.P.: A Literary and Political Biography." Longman and Co.

This is an interesting and, in some respects, a powerful book. By reason of the anonymous author's single known "antecedent"—his "Biography," or rather abuse, of Mr. Disraeli, which excited so much attention some time ago, the book has been expected with some degree of curiosity. It is different from what we had been led to anticipate from the advertisements. It is not an attack upon anybody or any system; on the contrary, it is an elaborate justification of the policy of both our celebrated Foreign Secretaries. Yes, of both—for it is the author's paradox that the popular notion is wholly wrong which regards Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston as incarnations of opposite systems, and is consequently always putting the man against the other, man for the championship of England. The main doctrine of his book is that since the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, or at all events since the death of Castlereagh, one spirit in the main has directed the Foreign Policy of Great Britain—that spirit being, in the main, a good one, and consisting in a sincere desire to promote the cause of constitutional liberty abroad, and consequently in a sincere desire to remedy the grievous faults committed by Great Britain in the Vienna settlement. Canning, Wellington, Aberdeen, and Palmerston, have all been true to this spirit according to their different characters and their different opportunities; and, in particular, Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston have on most occasions acted each precisely as the other would have done, had he been in office. This paradox, which we must say the author by no means succeeds in carrying completely home to our convictions—permeates the book. The volume, however, has many merits independent of the worth of this daring attempt to set the public right respecting the mutual relations of the two great ministers. It is an able volume in a department in which it is a novelty to have a volume at all. It is written evidently out of full knowledge, the author appearing perfectly at home in the history of our Foreign Office and of European diplomacy for the last forty years; and the style is emphatic, earnest, and characterised by a sort of stern glow and warmth. The first part of the work seems to us the best; but the interest never flags, and that is much to say for a work of this nature.

The work is not a *History* of the Foreign Policy of the last thirty years—there are few or no quotations of documents or detailed references; it is an essay on, or a summary sketch of, that history. The author's purpose would be better known if his name and circumstances were known; we might then judge better than we can from internal evidence how far he is an independent man uttering his free sentiments, or how far an interested pleader serving others with ulterior motives. We do not mean to insinuate the ascendency of the author's manner of thought is firm and hearty; but we do recognise a twang of officialism in the book—as if the author had personal prospects before him which aided his views of things. Indeed, he professes that he looks at matters not from the popular, but from the Downing-street, point of view. "Events as they arise," he says, "are considered as they would appear to the English Secretary of State in Downing-street, and not as they might appear to a member of the Opposition, or to any extreme thinker." Having thus indicated the character of the book, we shall best give an idea of its contents by making a series of extracts of its best bits, giving to each a title in our own words.

COUNT FIEQUIGNOULT AND HIS DIATRIBES AGAINST ENGLAND.

The Crystal Palace occupies no inconsiderable portion of Count Fiequignault's first volume. "A careful reader must see that the fairy structure was the cause of much of this author's indignant eloquence." He did us the honour of visiting England at that exciting season. His august form mingled with the crowds of sight-seers, who sat their delighted eyes with the wonders of industry and art. As he moved on the objects before him, two dark spectres opposed his path and disturbed his pleasant dreams. These were Mazzini and Ledru Rollin, walking arm in arm about the galleries as comfortably as though there were no monarchical scoundrels in the world. Was it in human nature that this should be endured? Count Fiequignault's heart almost burst with indignation; his fingers itched to inflict summary chastisement on the two revolutionists and rebels. But he was obliged to restrain his emotions; and from that moment lost all pleasure in visiting the Crystal Palace which Lord Palmerston had just christened the Temple of Peace. Count Fiequignault never set his foot in England. "A nice Temple of Peace, indeed," he said, ironically, "in which such men are the worshippers!" He resolved to make a literary crusade against England, and it must be acknowledged that he has faithfully kept his vow. He has powerfully contributed to prejudices that violate antipathy to everything English, and that absolute idolatry of everything Russian, which is so prevalent among the Austrian aristocracy.

THE PARTITION OF POLAND THE SOURCE OF ENDLESS MISCHIEF.

When George the Third came to the throne he resolved to be peaceful and conciliating. The old system of foreign policy was abandoned, and the consequences soon began to develop themselves. The greatest crime in modern history was perpetrated, and from the effect of that crime we and all Europe are still suffering. It would not be difficult to show that most of the wretchedness and turbulence of this generation, the formidable aggrandisement of Russia, and all the evils we are now called upon to resist, sprang from the first partition of Poland in 1772. Our ministers ought never to be forgiven for their culpable blindness and apathy, while that inquiry was in progress. The sins of the fathers have, indeed, been visited upon the children. We should not now with France be at war in defence of Turkey, had we wisely intervened with France in defence of Poland seventy-eight years ago.

CASTLEREAUGH AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

The individual who conducted our negotiations at Vienna is now no more; the great warrior to whom the triumph of the European despot was principally owing has also departed; the arrangement contemplated by the Congress has been, almost in every respect unsettled. It can now serve no purpose either of ministers or of leaders of opposition to conceal the truth. It is then the painful but imperative duty of the historian and the philosopher to declare loudly that the treaties to which the broad seal of England was affixed at the Congress of Vienna were most dishonourable to the

nation, and to the statesman who represented the English Government. These treaties are, indeed, indefensible; the object which they professed to accomplish was not attained; Europe was not tranquillised; the program of revolution was not checked; it was even provoked and encouraged by such wicked compacts. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? This agreement was in the strictest sense revolutionary; established rights were even more unscrupulously violated than by the Jacobins of 1793; every sentiment of patriotism and nationality was outraged; nothing but the selfish interests of three great monarchies was respected. Even the healing influence of Time, that sooner or later alleviates the injustice inflicted by man, has not rendered the stipulations of the peace less revolting. Turn where we may, the wounds then given are still green; prescription has not sanctified these incongruous unions; the program of forty years has not made them venerable. The treaties made "In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity" at Vienna, remain accursed both by God and man.

England has won great battles, founded mighty empires, established a constitutional government such as has never yet been equalled, produced the greatest of dramatists and the greatest political philosophers; but she has never been able to negotiate successfully a great, advantageous, and glorious peace. Again and again have the acquisitions of her arms been sacrificed through the incompetence of her diplomatists. At the peace of Utrecht, the triumph of Marlborough were rendered fruitless through the dishonesty of Bellinghame. At the peace of Paris, the trophies of Chatham were surrendered by the Earl of Bute. And now, at the congress of Vienna, the political and commercial advantages of England, dearly purchased as they had been by six hundred millions of debt, were abandoned through the weakness and ignorance of Castlereagh. He doubtless means well; he did not act wrong through any sinister motives; but he was, from the beginning to the end of those important conferences, overruled by the European monarchs, and their able but unscrupulous ministers. He believed that they were sincere in their professions. He supposed that they would fulfil the promises they had made to their subjects. His vanity was flattered by thus meeting on equal terms the great potentates of the world. Their insidious compliments almost turned his head; and during his residence at Vienna, he evidently forgot that he was the minister of a constitutional monarchy.

CANNING'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Mr. Canning's return to the Foreign Office ushered in a new state of things. It was the commencement of the political era which extends to the present day. The diplomatists of the Holy Alliance soon had reason to recognise the new spirit which ruled over the foreign policy. The minister could neither be duped nor despised. The necessities of the time were urgent; on the day when he accepted the seals the proceedings of the Alliance demanded his undivided attention. He died prematurely, and had a mighty nation for his mourners. But he had accomplished that which he had been sent to do. He had bequeathed his example to his followers, and even to his enemies. The race of political vampires, who fatten on corruption, and exult over the graves of brave nations, had shrunk away at the approach of his meridian glory. The iniquities of the Congress of Vienna began to be confessed. As the eyes of the people opened, they asked themselves what they had really gained by their glorious victories, and what sort of men were those who in their name professed to make and unmake kingdoms, to barter away the rights of millions, and to subsidise the armies of sovereigns, who mystically proclaimed a crusade against those eternal principles which had made England great and Englishmen free.

LORD ABERDEEN'S FOREIGN POLICY.

It was not until Lord Aberdeen assisted Sir Robert Peel in repealing the corn-laws, and lost the support of the Protectionists, that they ever raised their voices against his manner of conducting the business of the Foreign Office. It was not until they quarrelled with him on a domestic question that they ever blamed him for his foreign policy, and began to admire that of Lord Palmerston. During the administration of the Duke of Wellington, from 1828 to the November of 1830, and during the administration of Sir Robert Peel, from 1841 to 1845—that is, during all the time when Lord Aberdeen was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—the vehement partisans on the benches of the Opposition were the most determined supporters, and the most enthusiastic admirers of the very minister whom they now reprobate. The extreme Liberals, who always thought Lord Aberdeen too indulgent towards the despotic sovereigns of the Continent, may consistently still continue to oppose him; but it is not for those who supported Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington now to turn round and denounce Lord Aberdeen for betraying the freedom of nations. Some of these reproaches are as ignorant and as unscrupulous as they are unjust. It can easily be proved that Lord Aberdeen never had that violent attachment to Russia which has been attributed to him, and that his leading object while Foreign Minister was to encourage Austria in maintaining her independence of her northern neighbour. Events, indeed, have been more powerful than the efforts of the English statesman; but it is due to him to own that while Austria maintained a free course of action, the ambitious schemes of Russia were in some measure frustrated, and the Turkish empire preserved from direct attack. He has, indeed, ever been friendly to an Austrian alliance. It was in Austria that he won a great diplomatic victory, when he induced that country to join the confederacy against Napoleon. All who could judge of the difficulties he overcame at that time, have borne testimony to the able manner in which he conducted that important negotiation. This is not the place to dwell on his career as a diplomatist, or it might easily be shown what good service he did to Austria, and how natural it was that he should have friendly sympathies with the ablest statesman of that empire. It might even be shown that some of the arbitrary proceedings of the Court of Vienna, which were at once so impolitic and unjust, and which have produced so much misery to Austria and the world, were deeply regretted by Lord Aberdeen; and that he did all he could to prevent them from being adopted. He never was a Tory of the school of Sidmouth and Perceval. A nobleman of a highly cultivated intellect, distinguished in his youth by a love of literature, his mind enlarged by foreign travel, it is not going too far to say that he heartily despised the cant and bigotry so prevalent in the first quarter of this century, and that there were some very respectable politicians who considered him rather a dangerous Liberal. He never approved of the Holy Alliance. In his place in Parliament he declared, while Lord Castlereagh was still Foreign Minister, that such confederacies of monarchs were to be watched with the greater jealousy, because the system was liable to so much abuse that it could not be too strongly condemned.

SYMPATHY WITH TURKEY A RECENT GROWTH.

The first act of Lord Aberdeen as Foreign Secretary was to aid the Porte, and he was as much attacked by the Opposition of that day for saying that it was our duty to support the independence of Turkey, as he has lately been accused of being ready to consent to the partition of the Sultan's dominions. It is forgotten that this violent sympathy for the Turkish cause is of a very recent date. Among Liberal politicians especially, it is only within the last few years that the existence of Turkey has ever been admitted to be a political necessity. The statesmen of the last generation, with perhaps the exception of William Pitt, utterly detested the Turkish Government. Even Burke, with all his eloquent wisdom, his magnanimous jealousy of Russia, and his abhorrence of the partition of Poland, hated the Turks as much as he hated Warren Hastings and the Jacobins. He called them a race of savages and worse than savages, and said that any minister who allowed them to be of any weight in the European



system deserved the curses of posterity. It is only since the settlement of Europe in 1815, when an army established the power of Russia, and undermined every other throne in the Continent, that the importance of Turkey has been seen. Because we now witness the singular spectacle of the two most enlightened nations of Europe going to war, with the approbation of every sincere and wise friend of freedom and civilisation, for the purpose of keeping the Turks at Constantinople, the loss of which by the Greeks was four centuries ago considered the most grievous calamity that ever befell Christendom; some sanguine spirits forget how very recently this policy has been decided upon, and are ready to denounce Lord Aberdeen as a traitor for not supporting the policy which he really originated. The readers of some Journals will think it an incredible paradox to assert that it was Lord Aberdeen who first as Foreign Secretary proclaimed it to be the duty of England to maintain the independence and the integrity of the Turkish Empire. Nevertheless, such is the fact.

The future historian will some day have to record what an important part the Peace Society has played on the breaking out of the great war for the security of Europe. The Emperor of Russia trusted to the mediation of the (British) viceroys of power in 1853, as he formerly trusted to the speeches of the Opposition which he dictated the treaty of Adrianople. Experience, the stern of guides in political affairs, had taught him that in 1829 the Duke of Wellington (and Lord Aberdeen, with their eyes open to the consequences of the unfortunate treaty, had been obliged to acquiesce in it) and that even Sir Robert Gordon, the (brother) of the English foreign secretary, had advised the Sultan to accept these hard conditions of peace rather than continue a ruinous war. How could the northern nations expect that the result would have been different in the present day? We meet some of the members of the Peace Society as influential politicians as the noble lords and honourable gentlemen who scouted the idea of defending Turkey twenty-six years ago?

Though an Irish peer, Lord Palmerston had not many powerful friends to push him over the heads of able rivals. He owed his appointment to the important post of Secretary-at-War entirely to the reputation which he so early acquired. For nearly twenty years he performed the duties of that department with such efficiency and success as may perhaps have been equalled, but have certainly never been surpassed. He was not the slave of routine, but a zealous administrative reformer. The intricate details of military finance, and the regulations of the army were subjected to his careful supervision; and immense improvements were effected for which he neither received nor expected popular applause. Few people but those intimately conversant with this department, ever knew how much Lord Palmerston had done for the efficiency of the service, or even had the least idea of his great administrative abilities. When he entered the War-office he found everything in the greatest confusion; but after his long tenure of this important place he left it a model of order and industry. At this time Lord Palmerston troubled himself very little about the personal differences of Castlereagh and Canning. He had not yet become the ardent friend of Canning, and he confined his activity to his office. He was the Secretary-at-War, and Secretary-at-War he continued to be until it appeared that Lord Palmerston and the department could never be disunited. Through all the season of youth and early manhood, through all the changes of administrations, through all the vicissitudes of empires, in war and in peace, Lord Palmerston remained Secretary-at-War. During that time the most memorable events in European history occurred; the most important domestic and foreign questions were discussed; while year after year he sat silent throughout the greatest debates of the year after year he contented himself with moving the army estimates; in discussions on foreign policy, when Lord Castlereagh was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he scarcely ever opened his lips. Such taciturnity, when Lord Palmerston's powers as an orator and his actions in future years are considered, is truly wonderful and almost incredible. When Canning became Foreign Minister, Lord Palmerston's consciousness of his great abilities slowly awakened. He gradually overcame what must be called, however surprising it may seem, his habitual modesty. He spoke well on the affairs of Spain. He spoke well and more frequently on other topics. He began to announce some decided opinions on the political and commercial questions of the day. For Mr. Canning he now felt warm admiration, and adhered to him with generous fidelity when this injured statesman formed his ministry, and so many influential Tory politicians sent in their resignations and positively refused to serve under a Prime Minister favourable to the claims of the Roman Catholics. Lord Palmerston had now a seat in the Cabinet, though he still held his old office.

**HISTORY OF MR. FROGHART.**

A blockade had been established by Russia along the Circassian coast, and its existence communicated through the ambassador at Constantinople to the British Government; but as the ministers, without positively denying, did not think fit to recognise the justice of the claim which the emperor was enforcing, the blockade had never been notified in the *Gazette*. This passive resistance did not satisfy the insurers of the Portfolio, and the small circle of which he was the centre. Lord Palmerston was against his will to be driven into a war. A certain back-stair influence was brought into play; confidential communications were held with Sir Herbert Taylor, the King's private secretary; hints were given; some obscure officials, who were supposed to know the opinions of their chiefs, looked mysterious; and Mr. Bell, a merchant, was inspired with the desire of sending a cargo of salt to Circassia, and of thus bringing the question to an issue.

Mr. Bell eagerly desired the Government to authorise his commercial and political designs; Lord Palmerston cautiously abstained from giving him the least encouragement. Trusting, however, to the promptings of what he vaguely termed the Foreign-office, though contrary to the obvious meaning of the letters of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bell, like the enterprising and patriotic merchant that he was, set out for Constantinople. There the regulations of 1831 and 1836 were shown to him by no less a person than the English ambassador. The risk to be incurred was now plain. Mr. Bell hesitated, and thought of abandoning his cherished project of giving the Circassians the opportunity of purchasing his excellent cargo of salt, whatever the social regulations of Russia and the stringent law of blockade might say to the contrary. The secretary of the embassy was excited; he felt that the great moment of his life was now drawing near. He advised Mr. Bell to proceed, notwithstanding the language of Lord Palmerston and Lord Ponsonby. Was not the private secretary of the king more powerful than the secretary of state? So thought Mr. Urquhart, and in full reliance on his wisdom, the Vixen entered the Black Sea, and at last let go her anchor in the bay of Soudouk Kalk. No time was lost in informing the natives of the edicts, conflicts with which the ship was freighted. But before anything could be done, however, dated in Russian brig-of-war, the Vixen was seized, carried ignominiously into Sebastopol, and confiscated as a contraband trader.

Mr. Bell called on the English Government for vengeance; full reparation at least he expected to receive. He implored the assistance of the House of Commons. But whatever might have been the justice of the injustice of the proceedings of Russia in Circassia, Lord Palmerston felt that he must either acquiesce in the legality of the confiscation, or go to war in vindication of Mr. Bell and his ship Vixen. The pacific alternative was preferred: Mr. Bell was refused; and his name appeared in the

an old story so rehabilitated, but not the less a following in prose English of what the author of the *Tannhäuser* ballad has done in German verse. To the child this is simply a fairy tale of powerful kings with fabulous wealth and innumerable armies, valourous young heroes, opportune fairies, hairbreadth escapes, and a general and unutterable confusion of time, space, and language, without which a fairy tale is sure to be a failure. Young Tanica will pore over it by the glimmering fire-light with engrossed interest, and go to bed and dream of Giglio and Rosalba and King Padella, while old Toga Virilis, taking up the book, will sit with a genial pleasure in his heart, and a quiet curl at the corners of his mouth, as he sees in the *Rose and the Ring* humour, fun, quiet sarcasm, useful lessons for grown men and women administered through rude puppets, and enjoying a thing unique in literature—characters in an extravagant fairy tale always acting and talking on the truest and deepest principles of human nature.

From a book that nearly everybody will buy it is useless to extract, but we cannot refrain from giving one or two specimens of Thackeray on a new ground:—

#### A HINT FOR FAIRIES.

Between the kingdoms of Padagonia and Crim Tartary there lived a mysterious personage, who was known in those countries as the Fairy Blackstick, from the ebony wand or crutch which she carried; on which she rode to the moon sometimes, or upon other excursions of business or pleasure, and with which she performed her wonders.

When she was young, and had been first taught the art of conjuring, by the necromancer, her father, she was always practising her skill, whizzing about from one kingdom to another upon her black stick, and conferring her fairy favours upon this prince or that. She had scores of royal godchildren; turned numberless wicked people into beasts, birds, millstones, clocks, pumps, bootjacks, umbrellas, or other absurd shapes; and in a word was one of the most active and efficacious of the whole college of fairies.

But after two or three thousand years of this sport, I suppose Blackstick grew tired of it. Or perhaps she thought, "What good am I doing by sending this Princess to sleep for a hundred years? by fixing a black pudding on to that booby's nose? by causing diamonds and pearls to drop from one little girl's mouth, and vipers and toads from another's? I begin to think I do as much harm as good by my performances. I might as well shut my incantations up, and allow things to take their natural course."

"There were my two young goddaughters, King Savio's wife, and Duke Padella's wife, I gave them each a present, which was to render them charming in the eyes of their husbands, and secure the affection of those gentlemen as long as they lived. What good did my *Rose* and my *Ring* do these two women? None on earth. From having all their whims indulged by their husbands, they became capricious, lazy, ill-humoured, absurdly vain, and leered and languished, and fancied themselves irresistibly beautiful, when they were really quite old and hideous, the ridiculous creatures! They used actually to patronise me when I went to pay them a visit;—me, the Fairy Blackstick, who knows all the wisdom of the necromancers, and who could have turned them into baboons, and all their diamonds into strings of onions by a single wave of my rod!" So she locked up her books in her cupboard, declined further magical performances, and scarcely used her wand at all except as a cane to walk about with.

So when Duke Padella's lady had a little son (the Duke was at that time only one of the principal noblemen in Crim Tartary), Blackstick, although invited to the christening, would not so much as attend; but merely sent her compliments and a silver payboat for the baby, which was really not worth a couple of guineas. About the same time the Queen of Padagonia presented his Majesty with a son and heir; and guns were fired, the capital illuminated, and no end of feasts ordained to celebrate the young Prince's birth. It was thought the fairy, who was asked to be his godmother, would at least have presented him with an invisible jacket, a flying horse, a Fortunatus's purse, or some other valuable token of her favour; but instead, Blackstick went up to the cradle of the child Giglio, when everybody was admiring him and complimenting his royal papa and mamma, and said, "My poor child, the best thing I can send you is a little misfortune; and this was all she would utter, to the disgust of Giglio's parents, who died very soon after, when Giglio's uncle took the throne, as we read in Chapter I.

#### NOTHING LIKE A MORAL.

"A soldier, Prince, must needs obey his orders: mine are to help his Majesty Padella. And also (though alack that I should say it) to seize wherever I should light upon him!"

"First catch your hare! ha, Holtoff!" exclaimed his Royal Highness.

"On the body of Giglio, whilome Prince of Padagonia," Holtoff went on, with indescribable emotion. "My Prince, give up your sword without ado. Look! we are thirty thousand men to one!"

"Give up my sword! Giglio give up his sword!" cried the Prince; and stepping well forward on to the balcony, the royal youth, without preparation, delivered a speech so magnificent that no report can do justice to it. It was all in blank verse (in which, from this time, he invariably spoke, as more becoming his majestic station). It lasted for three days and three nights, during which not a single person who heard him was tired, or remarked the difference between daylight and dark. The soldiers only cheering tremendously, when occasionally, once in nine hours, the Prince paused to suck an orange, which Jones took out of the bag. He explained in terms which we say we shall not attempt to convey, the whole history of the previous transaction; and his determination not only not to give up his sword, but to assume his rightful crown; and at the end of this extraordinary, this truly *gigantic* effort, Captain Holtoff flung up his helmet, and cried, "Hurray! Hurray! Long live King Giglio!"

Such were the consequences of having employed his time well at college!

#### A BATTLE NOT DESCRIBED.

Ah! if I had the pen of a Sir Archibald Alison, my dear friends, would I not now entertain you with the account of a most tremendous shindy? Should not fine blows be struck? dreadful wounds be delivered? arrows darken the air? cannon-balls crash through the battalions? cavalry charge infantry? infantry pitch into cavalry? bugles blow; drums beat; homes neigh; fifes sing; soldiers roar, swear, hurray; officers shout out, "Forward, my men!" "This way, lads!" "Give it 'em, boys. Fight for King Giglio, and the cause of right!" "King Padella for ever!" Would I not describe all this, I say, and in the very finest language, too? But this humble pen does not possess the skill necessary for the description of combats. In a word, the overthrow of King Padella's army was so complete, that if they had been Russians you could not have wished them to be more utterly smashed and confounded.

#### NAVAL NOVELS.

The Two Admirals. By J. Fenimore Cooper.

Routledge.

THE time will certainly come when the influence of novels on the mind of the country will receive the consideration of a philosophical historian. Only the other day we read, on the authority of Panizzi, that Mr. Hallam

had much regretted the want of the novels of a certain period in the British Museum. Mr. Hallam knows what good literature is, and if he proposes to himself the task of wading through a mass of such productions as under the name of novels deluge English book-shops, it must assuredly be with a clear conviction, that "trashy" or not trashy, the works in question have an important effect on the formation of public opinion. Even to know what only the fools of a century ago liked, is certainly useful in its way, and belongs to history. Now, the fools of that period are to be judged of from the bad novels—as from the good ones we judge of the tastes, opinions, and ways of living of the sensible portion of the community. Innumerable readers in our own century have been made toriers by Scott; and, assuredly, naval novels have sent many a youth of England and America to sea. It is characteristic of the novel that it divides itself into such immense varieties that every class of life and opinion has its own works of fiction. Our business at present is only with those novels which profess to deal with sea-life, and particularly with the life of the English navy. This work of Cooper's forms a very appropriate text, for the English navy is the scene of its action—and just at the present time the English navy occupies even a more prominent position than usual in the eyes of Europe.

With the ancient sea-life was a comparatively unimportant affair. The poetry of that beautiful sea, of which alone they knew much, found its way into their songs and their traditions, of course. But the seaman by profession was of the poorest class of freemen, and held in little esteem. The fighting-man in the ship was quite a distinct person—and, indeed, was only a soldier temporarily changing his element. Antiquity had no Nelsons, nor Collingwoods, and looked on a man who made the sea his career as an unhappy mortal at the mercy of the watery Orin, with the records of whose dangers the temples were full. The terror which breezes, brayed with indifference by our current brigs, inspired in their writers, is a sufficient testimony that "Tom Bowling" (or "Bowlingus," as a commentator would call him if making these remarks in a note on the "Ottum Diva") was one of that large class of productions "unknown to the ancients." There is undoubtedly a likeness between all sailors, but Tom Bowling is so infinitely superior to these, that it would be an injustice to dwell upon the points of similarity.

The Northern Sea developed our ancestors into a very different race. The bravery and bony fellows above whom the raven floated were the founders of our national power. To a great extent we got sailors by the necessity of having commerce—but, also, we got commerce because we had sailors. To this day the best French sailors come from Normandy. Collingwood derived his lineage from Danish Northumberland, and Nelson bore a Scandinavian name. "North-countrymen" are still the best seamen afloat; and, on the whole, our ships are supplied from the same places whence seamen have always been supplied. In truth, it is "seamanship," strictly so called, that constitutes our superiority. We have seen a Russian brig in harbour beat an English one in routine performances. No one doubts that the French are brave men and good gunners; but it is when it is blowing, and the ship has to be handled well, that the superiority of Englishmen shows itself. The Yankees take to the sea—after their ancestors—though they have never yet chosen to exert themselves to have the great navy which it is in their power, and will probably be one day their destiny, to attain.

By dint of our naval literature, the seaman has become a familiar object to the English mind—being represented by a permanent figure, as *Punch* is—and this figure, when we trace it backwards, is not found to have material changed. The boatswain in the *Tenpest* has an immense deal in common with the present boatswain of the popular imagination—and both hail a brother in Congreve's sailor in *Love for Love*. The sailor whom the English love to fancy, is a fellow in whom all extravagances are pardoned for the sake of his pluck, and his fidelity, and his hard life—whose drunkenness—whose noise—whose lavish pecuniary expenditure and questionable relation to "Poll" are not harshly treated even by Stiggins. He is the most charitably treated of all Englishmen by public opinion, occupies a fairy world where the instincts are allowed full swing and everything is pardoned for its spontaneity; and the person who should hint at his d—n—g (at least in war time) would be thought orthodox indeed, but a little too strict. He has been always and everywhere so considered. Mandeville, in the *Fable of the Bees*, makes a very happy illustration out of the case of the Dutch sailor, his countryman. Says he—if he had the least prudence—if he did not instantly, on landing, get a fiddler, a coach, get well drunk, and all the rest of it,—if he saved, and retired,—why, where would be our East India trade? Whereupon, Mandeville (a highly humorous philosopher) insists that "private vices are public benefits," at least in the case of the sailor.

The naval officer (of tradition) is very much the same person as the humbler tar. For a while, indeed, military men or private gentlemen served afloat, and fought, and came on shore again—much as was done in the Greek and Roman days. These gentlemen are represented in our literature by Dorset's well-known and capital song. But such a custom could not have lasted—could only have been exceptionally successful—and, if permanent, would have made us a far inferior naval power. Most of our great naval men have been at sea from boyhood—for the sea demands a whole life like everything else—and sailors respect an officer, as a sailor, more, perhaps, than in any other capacity. The great captains of the last century were naval men, and nothing but naval men: their representative in literature is Smollett, who drew Trunnion from life.

Smollett was not at sea long, and that only as a surgeon. But an eye like Smollett's (whose talent, as Thackeray has justly remarked, was less for invention than for delineation of what he had seen) sees a great deal in no great while. Naval life, then, was infinitely coarse and hard; and an officer was so much at sea that he differed from the rest of his family as a farmer differs from a Cockney, or a "digger" from a dancing-master. He was looked on, when he came on shore, as a different kind of animal, and examined with feelings of awe and wonder. His contempt for all human employments on shore—his loud voice—his execrations—his insatiable appetite for grog and tobacco—his mortal shyness in the company of Lady Mary, and the equally remarkable ferocity with which he courted the dairy-maid—his figurative use of nautical language, in which alone he generally expressed himself—combined to form a man whose vocation in life was to



"lick the French" and convey the foreign traders. Such were the old school. During in danger, patient of work, and boisterous in relaxation were these ancient gentlemen. They lived in and for "the service." "The service" was their religion, their life. They loved their ship as the Arab loves a camel or a horse. They grumbled at the Admiralty, and swore when a lord was unfairly thrust above them; but they were loyal to the back-bone, swore by the Crown, and drank the Crown on all possible occasions.

When Marryatt entered the service, these old gentlemen were among the senior officers; but changes were in progress—the Trunions were perhaps entirely gone by that time. Collingwood was a highly cultivated gentleman, and when his elegant despatches were read, Pitt asked where this man "got his style?" But it would be absurd to suppose that the mass of men were in any way up to Collingwood's standard. Life was still very hard at sea. Collingwood was often short of crockery when in command of a fleet, and drinking Tenedos wine in the blockading days—Tenedos wine which would now be no more tolerated in a midshipman's mess than currant or cowslip at a club dinner. The old school traditions were still triumphant when Collingwood died. Officers were still quite isolated from life on shore. Of this period Marryatt represents the traditions. Midshipmen fought with each other—were flogged on occasion—were far below the present standard in manners and mode of life. Captains might have been found who, now-a-days, would be better suited to the Bridgroom or the Wedding Ring. The sailors were Dibdin's sailors,—fried watches, hired whole hackney-coach-stands, &c., &c. Dibdin's songs, be it observed, are artificial compositions, and their influence and merit have both been overrated.

Marryatt, in literary merit, was below his American contemporary Cooper. He had not Cooper's genius; he could not have given the poetry of the Red Indian life as Cooper did it. In a word, he had not the romance talent of Cooper; but he had great and undoubted merits, and his sea novels are admirable as contributions to our naval history.

Cooper had not, we believe, nearly so much experience of sea-life as Marryatt. And here is Marryatt's strong point; he knew the service thoroughly;—he was just in time to catch the old traditions;—and he witnessed the changes which time was making in the profession. He began to write in middle life. His main quality is shrewd, strong sense—with a flavour of humour of a kindred sort. He had no poetry—not much invention; wit, though of a hard kind, glittering more like steel than like fire, and only a limited range of characters. Cooper beats him in the romantic element. Marryatt admirably catches the moral life—the social life—of a man-of-war; Cooper more subtly and rarely saw in a ship what Scott saw in a feudal castle,—and he makes his reader mingle with the very spirit of its existence and breathe its atmosphere. Cooper's range of characters was limited likewise. Neither of them was successful in painting women; they knew no medium between a jolly boatswain's wife and a large-eyed, unintelligible, outrageously beautiful and mystical doll and angel. Their sea-educations had much to do with this. In their roving youth, far away from the sight of women for months, they thought of them as a kind of supernatural creatures—such as people ashore fancy fairies to be. Women may regret these old superstitious admirers when they see the sterner judgments which later novelists form of them.

The service has changed since Marryatt was a young man, and very greatly changed. The "old school" is gradually wearing out. Brummell himself might (at all events in a flag-ship) find life at sea tolerable now. Long stays in harbour produce a great effect. Then, boys are sent to sea as a "profession"—do not rush to it as a "vocation" (in so many instances at all events) as of old. The old school of captains from "before the mast" is gone. Men of family fill the service, together with those of the middle class who have political connexions—and pursuits. The "service" is less heard of about—horses, society, and billiards, more. You meet a quiet gentleman (a little sun-burnt perhaps) at dinner, who drinks moderately, and swears not at all; he is franker in manner than most men; talks about music, the Puseyites, and whatever else is going, like the rest of people. Presently you learn that he is Lieutenant —, R.N., and he has never "shivered his timbers" once during the conversation! Of course changes affect the natural results of changes ashore—and (let the "old school" say what they please) inevitable. But who ventures to assert that a changed navy has ceased to be a competent one—or that the nineteenth century's "Service" is not fit for the work of the nineteenth century? "Jack" himself is now paid gradually, and has never such a plethora of cash as to require the terrible Jew phlebotomy to which of old he was subjected. He has been modified, as his officers have, though not so strikingly. But he works like a horse—he is as obedient as water is to wind—he goes coolly, firmly, and even laughingly, into the very mouth of danger and death—and retains all that was valuable of those elements which form the notions of him which we have sketched above.

We have only left ourselves room to recommend the *Two Admirals* as one of Cooper's best novels; and to regret that our space permits us not to give our praise to Michael Scott, Herman Melville, the veteran Chamier, and others.

#### LITERATURE OF THE WAR.

*Odessa and its Inhabitants.* By an English Prisoner in Russia. Bosworth.  
*Remarkable Sieges from Constantinople to Sebastopol.* By Henry Otley. With Illustrations. H. Ingram and Co.

THE success of Lieut. Royer's *English Prisoners in Russia* has, apparently, led to the production of a companion volume. It is a companion volume in every way. The outside—to go to the best part first—is similar, and the matter betrays the same loyal adherence to our enemies, and the same total want of sympathy with the Queen's English. On no account would we charge Lieutenant Royer with the authorship of the book, but the similarity of style and opinions certainly suggests the same hand. The present book professes to be written by a midshipman of the ill-fated *Tiger*, who, after a

series of social triumphs à la Crichton, finds himself, as he says, a widdy attached to the *Victory*, with an impending court-martial hanging over him for the loss of his vessel.

The moral of the "getting up" of this book may be simplified into this: If it be true, it betrays woeful conduct on the part of the *Tiger's* officers; if it be, as we suspect, a compilation, it is disgraceful to the writer. In the latter case we need offer no proof—the work itself is the proof—but we would simply remark that every newspaper is vilified and declared untrue, whilst several are laid under contribution for the best parts, both as to style and matter, of the present volume. Supposing the work to be genuine, what are we to think of officers who, under such circumstances, would conduct themselves as the "middy" describes?

On returning from one of these parties, towards three o'clock in the morning, I collected finding several of our own officers, who had been making merry with some Russian officers in another part of the city. So well satisfied were they with each other, that there had been a complete fraternisation, similar to that which has since taken place between the French and English soldiers at Constantinople. The English had the Russian helmets on their heads, and the Russians wore the naval gold-band cap, which they would have no doubt been proud to keep. I mention this circumstance merely to show how little of the spirit of ill-will was borne us by the Russians, whom our periodicals so unmercifully abuse.

Anybody who can approve of this work will be pained if the court-martial should go hard with the nice young midshipman. He appears to have played a prominent part at all the Odessa tea-parties, no matter how small they might be. He has a splendid memory, and gives copies or translations of all the songs which the dear Russian daughters sang to him. Very fortunately we have none of the conversation, for it was evidently very much in the style of the book:—

Our conversation was light and unrestrained; there was no attempt at showing what we knew to each other. Sometimes it was most trifling and innocent; at others we talked of Europe, of England, of friends whom we portrayed to each other. We gave our opinion on politics, poetry, anything, everything, freely and unreservedly. This was truly "the feast of reason and the flow of soul." My young friend, Amy, listened attentively, but said little. Her cheek was flushed, and I could see that not a remark had been lost to her understanding.

We have no space to criticise the grammar of this encyclopaedical middy, who professes to know everything; but we wish to assure our readers that there is the same amusement in the book as there is in many other books on Russian subjects—all of which are open to book-makers in the British Museum. In taking leave of this elegant performance we particularly recommend the professed author to the mercy of the legal tribunal before which he professes to tremble. We feel assured that he had no more to do with the loss of the *Tiger* than with the composition of the little book about its crew in Odessa.

*Remarkable Sieges* is a little work of far more merit, which supplies precisely that information which every one says is required. There are not only capital accounts of various important sieges, but they are given in a style at once popular and learned. The description of ancient fortification, if no longer useful, is still interesting—not only to the antiquary, but to the general reader. Yabban's systems are carefully detailed, and the diagrams and illustrations will serve to make many acquainted with subjects which, at present, they have only talked about. Barbettes and casemates need no longer be "sealed books," and bastions and redoubts will, in future, be evident to the "meanest capacity."

#### BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

- History of British Guiana; comprising a General Description of the Colony.* By Henry G. Walton, M.D. 2 vols. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.  
*Mer-cur-i-us, or the Word-Maker: An Analysis of the Structure and Rationality of Speech: Including the Decipherment of Divers Truths that are Figured through the Veil of Language.* By the Reverend Henry Le Montclair. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.  
*Charles Random; or, Lunatics at Large.* By Thomas White. 3 vols. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.  
*The Rose and the Ring; or, the History of Prince Giglio and Prince Balbo.* A Prose Poem. By Mr. M. A. Titmarsh. Smith, Elder, and Co.  
*Pantomime for Great and Small Children.* By Mr. M. A. Titmarsh. Smith, Elder, and Co.  
*The Principles of Physiology: the Structure of the Skeleton and of the Teeth; and the Varieties of the Human Race. (Orr's Circle of the Sciences.)* W. S. Orr and Co.  
*The Mathematical Sciences: including Simple Arithmetic, Algebra, and the Elements of Euclid. (Orr's Circle of the Sciences.)* W. S. Orr and Co.  
*The Works of William Cowper, comprising his Poems, Correspondence, and Translations; with a Life of the Author.* By the Editor, Robert Southey, LL.D., &c. Vols. VII. and VIII. Henry G. Bohn.  
*Later Years.* By the Author of "The Old House by the River." Sampson Low, Son, and Co.  
*History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, with Notices of its Principal Framers.* By George Ticknor-Curtis. Vol. I. Sampson Low, Son, and Co.  
*Children's Triads; or, the Little Rope-Dancers and other Tales.* Translated from the German of Auguste Linden. Trimmer and Co.  
*General Bounce; or, the Lady and the Locusts.* By G. J. Whyte Melville. 2 vols. John W. Parker and Son.  
*The East and West: a Song of the War.* George Bell.  
*Wearyfoot Common.* By Leitch Ritchie. David Bogue.  
*History for Boys; or, Annals of the Nations of Modern Europe.* By J. G. Edgar. David Bogue.  
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*Odessa and its Inhabitants.* By an English Prisoner in Russia. Thomas Bosworth.





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Further Information may be obtained at the Offices of the Company.

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**DIVISION OF PROFITS.**—All Persons assuring their Lives (on the Participating Scale) in the PROVIDENT CLERKS MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION, before the end of the present year, will be ENTITLED TO SHARE in the NEXT Quinquennial Division of Profits to Dec. 31, 1907.

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For Prospectuses showing the peculiar advantages of the Association, and for all further information, apply to the local agents, or at the Chief Office, 15, Moorgate-street, London. WM. TINS, LINFOLD, Secretary.

15, Moorgate-street, Dec. 4, 1884.

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J. G. HUGHES, Secretary.

## TO the ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of MARYLEBONE.

GENTLEMEN,  
I must in the first place condole with you on the premature decease of your late lamented Representative, whose self-sacrificing liberality and philanthropy have identified the name of Dudley Stuart with hatred of oppression, and sympathy with distress.

The vastness of the Constituency, which justly gives it so much influence, and renders the seat such an object of honourable ambition, will preclude, I regret to say, the possibility of my personally waiting upon each of you during the short remaining interval before the Election.

If, however, you do me the great honour of approving me as the tried friend of Civil, Religious, and Commercial Freedom; as the promoter of good Local Self-Government, and of that efficiency in Local Administration, which is the only true economy; as the supporter of Extended Franchise, General Education, and Sanitary Reform; and as the advocate of the present just and necessary war—a war undertaken in concert with our brave French neighbours, for the purpose of checking the encroachment of despotism, and of ultimately, with God's blessing, conquering for Europe a safe and honourable peace—if, above all, you feel with me, that we ought to strain every nerve to succour effectively, and at once, our struggling forces in the Crimea, the wasted survivors of that gallant army, so lately embarked from our shores in the pride of health, of equipment, and of numbers—if you agree with me that we are imperatively bound to reinforce and refit, without stint, that sadly diminished band of heroes, whose noble prowess and ill-requited humanity, whose devoted obedience and uncomplaining endurance, make us proud of the name of Englishman, but whose losses, privations, and sufferings it makes our hearts bleed in the midst of our exultation to think upon;

If, on these terms, and with these sentiments, you place me in the proud position of your Representative, I shall endeavour to merit your approbation, and testify my gratitude by a diligent attention to my public duties, and a sedulous promotion of your local interests.

I have the honour to be, GENTLEMEN,  
Your obedient servant,  
EDBRINGTON.

P.S.—I hope to be able to communicate personally with every Elector, through the medium of meetings to be held in different parts of the Borough.

## TO the ELECTORS of the BOROUGH of MARYLEBONE.

FELLOW ELECTORS,  
At the present crisis I think it a duty I owe to you to state a few reasons why I am compelled to oppose JACOB BELL and support LORD EBRINGTON.

JACOB BELL voted for the Tory candidate in opposition to the late Lord Dudley Stuart, whose memory he professes to revere, and whom he seeks to succeed.

JACOB BELL, when he gave his subscription to the Patriotic Fund, did it publicly under protest, wishing it distinctly to be understood that he neither approved of nor sanctioned the war.

JACOB BELL, who now, to suit his purpose, calls himself a Reformer, never assisted Joseph Hume and the other advocates of the Liberal cause.

JACOB BELL has just proclaimed partially in favour of the ballot, but when number for St. Alban's he left the House to avoid voting for that measure.

JACOB BELL now says, that in order to ensure a lasting peace to Europe, Poland must be restored as a kingdom, although he never assisted the late lamented Lord Dudley Stuart by sympathising with the Friends of Poland in public matters or otherwise.

The political views of Lord EBRINGTON fall short of my own, but his antecedents prove him to be honest to the full extent of his profession, while those of JACOB BELL prove him to be politically dishonest, therefore let us honour character and consistency, and without hesitation reject JACOB BELL.

Yours, &c., &c.,  
J. A. NICHOLAY.

Nomination Day, MONDAY, December 18th.

Polling Day, TUESDAY, December 19th.

## SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BANKING COMPANY.

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1847.

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Apply at the Company's Offices, 54, Old Broad-street, London.

WILLIAM PURDY, Manager.

London, December, 1884.

**NOTA BENE.**—The writer of the series of articles signed "Pastel," and published during last Summer, under the above title, in the HOME COMPANION, feels compelled to state that he has no part or interest whatever in the articles which the new proprietors of that Journal are now publishing with the same title and signature.

## ITALIAN AND FRENCH LANGUAGES.

**MR. ARRIVABENE, D.L.L.**, from the University of Padua, who has been established in London for three years, gives private lessons in Italian and French at his own house, or at the house of his pupils. He also attends Schools both in town and country. Mr. ARRIVABENE teaches on a plan thoroughly practical, and the most mediocre mind cannot fail to thoroughly comprehend his lessons.

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## TESTIMONIALS by PRESENTATION

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154, Regent-street, August 23, 1884.

**MARYLEBONE ELECTION.**—The Nomination will take place on Monday, Dec. 18th, at Park Crescent, Portland Place, at Eleven o'clock.

The Polling will take place on Tuesday the 19th, beginning at 8 and ending at 4 o'clock.

**LORD EBRINGTON'S**  
Central Committee Room,  
Portland Hotel, 61, Portland Street.

## TO the ELECTORS of MARYLEBONE.

GENTLEMEN,  
A Voting Card has been sent from my Committee Room to every Elector in the Borough, which it is important that they should take with them to the poll. If any Elector should not have received this card on Monday morning, he is requested to give notice at my Central Committee Room.

The number of votes given at previous contested elections has been considerably less than half the number registered; the successful Candidates were returned by a small minority of the Electors. I hope that on the present occasion the Electors of all classes will come forward and express their sentiments, in order that the Candidate elected may really represent the whole constituency.

I have the honour to be, GENTLEMEN,  
Your faithful servant,  
EDBRINGTON.

Central Committee Room, Portland Hotel.

## LORD EBRINGTON'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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Forms of application for aid, and further information, may be obtained at the Office, Marlborough House, Pall-mall, London.

Marlborough House, 30th November, 1854.

**THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION** at Gore House, Kensington Gore, of the Elementary Works of Students in all the Schools of Art in connexion with the Department of Science and Art, both Local and Metropolitan, will be opened to the Public on and after Friday, the 22nd of December, Christmas-day excepted. Admission free, daily, from 10 to 4, and in the evening from 7 to 9.

**POLAND.**—At a Meeting of Gentlemen, held at 10, Southampton-street, Strand, on Friday Evening, December 8,

P. A. TAYLOR, Esq., in the Chair;

It was resolved,—

"That this Meeting resolves itself into a Committee, to be called 'The Anglo-Polish Committee,' whose object shall be to make effective the growing public opinion, that the re-establishment of Poland is the pressing necessity of the present crisis and an essential condition of permanent peace. Such Committee to have power to add to its number."

Gentlemen willing to aid in this movement, with time or money, are requested to address to the Secretary of the "Anglo-Polish Committee," 10, Southampton-street, Strand.

Ready, price 2s. 6d.—By Post 3s.

**THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.**  
No. XVI.—December, 1854. Contents:—Art. I. The Future of the Working Classes.—Art. II. Biography of John Banin, Part III.—Art. III. Convict Systems—Past and Present.—Art. IV. Removal of Irish Poor.—Art. V. National Factory, and Reformatory Schools. First Paper.—National Schools.—Art. VI. The Census—Part III. v. The Dublin Hospitals, the Blunders of the Census Proved.—Art. VII. Paris Correspondence. Paris Past and Present.—Art. VIII. Quarterly Record of the Progress of Reformatory and Ragged Schools, and of the improvement of Prison Discipline.

Dublin: W. B. KELLY, and for R. SHERW. London: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, and Co.

No. XVII. will appear on 1st March, 1855.

On the 18th December will be published, price 3d., or stamped 4d.,

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